

Textual and Narrative Space  
in Professional Dramas in Early Modern England

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis aims to examine the varied notions of space in early modern play-texts as well as to challenge the assumed text-space relationship that has been the foundation of various scholarly approaches towards early modern theatrical practice, including a Shakespeare-centred historiography and theatre reconstruction carried out by scholars such as Andrew Gurr and Richard Hosley and contemporary editorial practices that appear to reconstruct early modern performances scenographically through annotations and editorial interventions. In order to depart from such Shakespeare-centred and London-biased architectural determinism, the thesis will adopt a repertory approach to the Queen's Men, a methodology that emphasises the materiality of the play books and an author-function approach to the plays associated with Robert Greene in order to explore the alternatives to a conventional architectural and scenographic theatre reconstruction based primarily on the literary analysis of play-texts. In addition to challenging the assumption of an interchangeable relationship between play-texts, performance and space, this thesis aims to demonstrate how the concept of space within a play-text will be ultimately an issue of dramaturgy, determined and defined by the diverse dramatic forces in this period and the idiosyncratic styles of their narrative.

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## **Abbreviations**

DEEP	Database of Early English Playbooks
DNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
REED	Records of Early English Drama
SQM	Shakespeare and the Queen's Men Project

## Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the relationship between early modern drama and space by examining the varieties of space and spatial practices that have been reconstructed or are yet to be identified with the help of early modern play-texts and play books. I will look into the reasons why a large number of scholarly approaches to theatre reconstruction tend to be closely associated with the literary analysis of play-texts, and examine the degree to which these methodologies are problematised by their shared assumption of a generic model of the early modern space – retrievable from an abstracted model of an Elizabethan playhouse by decoding the physical elements in early printed play-texts and revolving primarily around Shakespeare and his playing company. I will also examine alternative approaches to such kinds of spatial reconstructions which remove the emphasis on the literary analysis of a dramatic text and see the extent to which the results and underlying assumptions of these diverse disciplines vary from or remain akin to one another.

The methodologies that will be examined to look at early modern spatial practice include:

- (a) A London-centred and author-based methodology such as the historiography of the early modern theatre carried out by Andrew Gurr, Richard Hosley and Glynn Wickham;
- (b) The editorial practice on early modern play-texts by scholars such as W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow and Stanley Wells.

By examining the above methodologies, I hope to demonstrate how their approaches are problematised by their underlying assumption of an interchangeable relationship between play-text and space as well as a shared theatre model based mainly on the repertoire of Shakespeare and his company. In addition, I will also employ the



following approaches in order to look at the alternatives to a London-centred and Shakespeare-oriented model. These include:

- (a) Practices such as the *REED (Record of Early English Drama)* project, which investigates playing spaces in early modern England outside London and marks a departure from a Shakespeare-centred and play-text based methodology on the history of early modern theatre.
- (b) A repertory approach conducted by scholars such as McMillin and MacLean in *The Queen's Men and their Plays* as well as Lucy Munro whose *Children of the Queen's Revels* also has a new emphasis on playing companies instead of playwrights,
- (c) An approach that focus on para-textual materials and mise-en-page of the early modern play books and examine the extent to which theatre and performance is imagined and shaped by the printers and publishers of the books – a scholarly approach that can be observed in the works of Zachary Lesser, Tiffany Stern and Maureen Bell etc.,
- (d) Finally, an author-function and author-centred approach to look at the extent to which the diverse and varied dramatic forces in early modern England could create different styles of spatial practices through their idiosyncratic choices of dramaturgy.

My intention is to cover the full range of traditional and recent critical practices and resources in order to examine the underlying problems and feasibility of the conventional theatre model based on the works of Hosley and Gurr and to see the degree to which the materiality of a play book as well as the model of a playing business based on the accounts of *REED* could help us to understand the concept of space and spatial practice of this period. Eventually, I will go back to an author-centred approach on Robert Greene and demonstrate how his idiosyncratic choice of dramaturgy exhibits a unique style of spatial division that is distinctive from Shakespeare's model. Before I go on to examine and attempt to demystify the

relationship between play-texts and theatrical space with the above methodologies, it is important to clarify the notions of space, what constitutes a theatrical space in these separate disciplines, how these diverse concepts of space will be subsequently employed in this thesis, the significance and history of these academic approaches in shaping our understanding of the early modern theatre and the underlying issues of these approaches.

### **The Notion of Space**

Space, according to *Oxford English Dictionary*, denotes meanings that can be briefly divided into two major categories: it indicates “time or duration” and also carries geometrical meaning which signifies “area or extension.” Although the concept of this term, often used to signify the “quantity” of time or “physical area in two or three dimensions” (*OED*), seems straightforward, it becomes a much more complicated matter when it is used as a part of a compound and when it is applied in a rather broad range of disciplines and fields. From Sidney’s neo-classical view of an ideal frame of “stage space,” Henri Lefebvre’s “social space” –a product of the state, urban planning and social relations, Gaston Bachelard’s philosophical *The Poetics of Space* in which he argues how space - from houses, rooms to structures as small as doorknobs and drawers - is fundamental to the shaping of our thoughts, imagination and dreams,<sup>1</sup> to H. Minkowski’s four-dimensional space-time – widely accepted by physicists – where time and space are considered as fused in a four-dimensional continuum, the notion of space means rather different things in the fields of philosophy, literature, and physics.

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<sup>1</sup> In Stilgoe’s words, Bachelard “probes the impact of human habitation on geometrical form, and the impact of the form upon human inhabitants.” See the introduction by John Stilgoe in *The Poetics of Space* (vii).

A theatrical space, if we examine it in terms of physics, could simply mean a three-dimensional continuum in the laws of Euclidean geometry: a space framed by doors, walls, stages or any architectural features where dramatic events take place. A theatrical space, in this sense, can be simply a particular site of performance – purpose-built playhouses, taverns, or a hall in Court. The idea that time is inconstant and inseparable from the notion of space<sup>2</sup> (Einstein 62) could, to some extent, be made analogous to the notion of a theatrical space as time is a crucial element of the composition of a theatrical space not only because of the transient nature of theatrical performances but also because of the fact that any space could become “theatrical” at a specific time when dramatic performances are present.

Michel de Certeau’s distinction between place and space and that “space is a practiced place” perhaps could help us to understand the term a bit better (117). A space exists “when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variable;” it is “composed of intersections of mobile elements” (117). A written text can thus be seen as a practiced place “constituted by a system of signs” (117) and if we apply De Certeau’s distinction to the site of theatrical performances, a venue, either a purpose-built playhouse or the garden of a provincial household, could be considered as a place that is transformed by theatrical practices into a space, or to be more specific, theatrical space.

Therefore, the occurrence or the birth of a theatre, or a theatrical space, can be as simple as how it is described by Peter Brook in the opening of *The Empty Space*:

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<sup>2</sup> Before the theory of relativity, space is a three-dimensional continuum in the laws of Euclidean geometry; “time played a different and more independent role, as compared with the space co-ordinates” (Einstein 62). The importance of Minkowski’s recognition of the space-time continuum is its contribution to the formation of Einstein’s theory of relativity in which “time is robbed of its independence” (62) and its constancy.

I can take any empty space and call it a bare stage. A man walks across this empty space whilst someone else is watching him, and this is all that is needed for an act of theatre to be engaged (11).

This notion of theatrical space as a “practiced” place which requires elements as basic as an actor, audience and a stage, however, can be further complicated if we take into consideration Henri Lefebvre’s proposal in *The Production of Space*. In his rationale, theatrical space is both the producer as well as the product of the interaction between actors, audiences and play-texts. Instead of treating space simply as “the passive locus of social relations,” Lefebvre sees space as both “the producer and product of social relations” (*Production* 11). To him, space is inevitably “social” and is constantly produced and reproduced through human intentions and endeavours (*State, Space, World* 187). If Lefebvre is right in saying that space is both the “cause and result” – “the locus of projects and actions deployed as part of specific strategies” (*Production* 142-3), theatrical spaces can be seen as not only the result of theatrical practices but also the producer of dramatic events, as the scaffolds, walls, stages or any architectural features, instead of being treated merely as passive materials that frame a dramatic performance, can be also seen as the producer of a social relation between dramatists, actors, audiences and those who are excluded from participation as they exhibit and prohibit views of events on and off stage and in and out of the theatres.

In the case of early modern playing business, theatrical spatial practices also produce a sometimes intense relationship between the Court, civic fathers, royal patrons and players as the uprising of professional theatres also calls forth a series of movements and regulation such as the “Acte for the punishment of vagabondes” in 1572 requiring groups of travelling players to obtain a noble patron in order to “avoid being convicted as a rouge, vagabond, or sturdy beggar” (Dobson 257), and the Act of

Common Council of London in 1574 forbidding production of plays “within the house, yard or any other place within the liberties of this city” (Dillon 237).

The term “theatrical space,” to sum up, can simply mean the site of dramatic performances, and can also be seen as a “practiced place” composed of a series of interactions between the authors, actors, audience, play-texts, stage properties and the architectural structure around them. It is the cause and results of social relations, movements and regulations. In Lefebvre’s words, theatrical space is an “interplay between fictitious and real counterparts” and a cause and result of the “interaction between gazes and mirages in which actor, audience, ‘characters,’ text and author all come together but never become one” (*Production* 188).

The abstractions of Lefebvre’s account of a theatrical space which confuse the physical aspect of a theatrical space, the spatial practice involved in a theatre production as well as the literary genre of play-texts can also be found in the historiographical approach to early modern theatre. In the composition of early modern theatre history, the elements of a theatrical space and spatial practice are not always dealt with separately but are often selected and fused together in order to provide readers an overview of the Elizabethan theatrical conventions. The notion that space can be both the cause and result of theatre events is also shared by theatre historians who set out to analyse early modern theatrical space by interpreting the potential audience-actor rapport from their analysis of play-texts. However, as I will argue in this thesis, such a relationship can only be seen as a result of a theatre performance which is subject to change and cannot be retrieved simply

from the interpretation of play-texts.<sup>3</sup>

And as I will demonstrate in Chapter One, such a historiography is also complicated by the diverse scholarly opinions and interpretations of the same piece of evidence and also by their over-reliance on the corroboration of play-texts. What theatre historians tend to reconstruct, with the help of the scanty evidentiary support such as the Swan drawing and the Fortune Contract, is a three-dimensional “architectural” space where early modern performances took place. Albeit taking into account the relevant contemporary social and civic movements and phenomena, this kind of architectural reconstruction relies significantly on the literary analysis of play-texts, and appears inseparable from studying the repertory of Shakespeare and his company as well as that of their immediate rival, the Admiral’s Men.

This text-based and Shakespeare-centred approach becomes especially popular in the second half of the twentieth century and becomes deep-rooted in shaping the models that connect the early modern theatre to its drama.

### **The Stage-Centred Approach and Text-based Historiography in the Study of Early Modern Theatre**

Since the publication of *Shakespeare Revolution* in 1977, J. L. Styan’s description of “a stage-centred study of Shakespeare” (6) which “checks text against performance, and does not admit critical opinion as fully valid without reference to the physical circumstances of the medium” (72) still forms the foundation of several methodologies of studies in this field today. His approach strongly advocates the fusing of performance analysis with the studies of literary texts – an attempt to form

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<sup>3</sup> The notion of an audience-actor relationship is further discussed in the section of “Reconsidering Weimann’s Locus and Platea.” See Chapter Four 207.

the alliance between the Shakespearean scholarship and contemporary theatrical performance.

A consensus has been formed since among scholars such as Stanley Wells and John Russell Brown that early modern drama and theatrical convention can only be fully realised with the help of performance, and modern productions of Elizabethan plays could also benefit from the academic approach of drama as literature. A concept that can be seen when Brown encourages his fellow contributors in the introduction of *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre* that the present work, a “celebration of theatre’s greatest achievements,” would “enhance our present playgoing, reading and exploration” (10); Brown believes that directors, actors or designers could also benefit from this book as early modern theatre history and theatrical convention can be “an active agent in the future life of an inherited repertory of plays” (10). In addition, this stage/performance-centred approach can also be observed in the editorial practice carried out by the general editors of the *Complete Oxford Shakespeare* in which Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor declare their devotion “to recovering and presenting texts of Shakespeare’s plays as they were acted in the London playhouses” (xxxvii). An approach that can still be seen in the recent RSC Shakespeare editions, as Karin Brown and Jan Sewell in the independent edition of *As You Like It* (2010) claim:

The best way to understand a Shakespeare play is to see it or ideally to participate in it. By examining a range of productions, we may gain a sense of the extraordinary variety of approaches and interpretations that are possible – a variety that gives Shakespeare his unique capacity to be reinvented and made ‘our contemporary’ four centuries after his death.  
(113)

Behind the stage-centred criticism lies an important assumption of a relationship between play-texts and performance (either those early modern productions in

theatres in London or those contemporary performances which are supposed to enhance our understanding of Elizabethan stage conventions) and more importantly, a hypothesis that a relationship between play-text and theatrical space in which these two elements are sometimes “interchangeable.” This premise forms the basis for a number of scholarly attempts carried out by theatre historians such as Andrew Gurr, Richard Hosley and Glynn Wickham to reconstruct early modern playing spaces. As Alan Dessen claims, “any attempt to deal with the original staging or stage conventions must build almost exclusively upon the evidence within the plays themselves” (*Conventions* 19) and, similarly, “attempts to reconstruct the original staging and theatrical conventions must depend largely upon the stage directions in the extant manuscripts, the few theatrical ‘plots’, and, most abundantly, the surviving printed texts” (*Conventions* 20).

Evidence for this kind of spatial reconstruction is, therefore, highly dependent on the use of stage directions not only because of the scantiness of available evidence but also because of the premise that authors compose plays with a particular place in mind (Gurr, “Amphitheatres” 47-62) as well as the assumption that an early modern performance and playhouse can be reconstructed by analyzing the spatial indications in a repertoire that is tied to a particular playwright and playing company who are assigned specific venues for their productions. Moreover, not only have such hypotheses formed the foundation of many academic approaches to the early modern theatre in the second half of the twentieth century, they remain significant to academic research on the early modern stage today and can be found in a recent publication *Playwright, space and place in early modern performance* (2011) by Tim Fitzpatrick; the opening chapter of the book “Playwrights Thinking Spatially” is especially telling in terms of the way in which the project is similarly driven by the



same assumption of a stage-page relationship. And under such an assumption, a printed play-text is treated as a site of interpretation where historians and editors analyse authorial intention and tease out possible reception of a performance by the “original” audience; it is an indicator of early modern theatrical practice, a site of performance and is, therefore, also used to measure the requirement of settings and the dimension and capacity of a staging area.

Although it has long been identified that early modern performing spaces exist in various locations (inside and outside London) and in varied forms as players such as the Queen’s Men travelled frequently and vastly throughout their career, the goal behind a number of attempts to reconstruct theatres of this period is to establish a generic understanding of the early modern theatre and its convention, or in Bradbrook’s words, “to rebuild something that an Elizabethan would find recognisable as a fairly normal playhouse” (*Elizabethan* 6). The reconstruction of this kind of performing space often tends to revolve heavily around Shakespeare and his playing company perhaps partly because we can identify the repertoire as well as where it was staged and also because Shakespeare and his contemporary playwrights are often considered as those who have reached the peak of the early modern playing business. In her *Elizabethan Stage Conditions*, first published in 1923, Bradbrook begins her first chapter with the building of the Theatre in 1576 where “[t]he strolling players had found a home” (3). She divides the history of pre-Restoration drama into five acts and sees the period before the opening of Burbage’s Theatre as the “Prologue” in which playing spaces includes “inn-yards both within and outside the city walls,” private mansions, guildhalls, the Inns of Court, and open-air spaces for pageants and Royal Entry (*Elizabethan* 3, 9). However, the core of such a history lies in her third act when Shakespeare and his contemporary

playwrights witnessed the professional theatre reaching its maturity, its “Golden Age” (*Elizabethan* 10) as well as the building of the Globe – a continuation of Burbage’s first Theatre and a continuation of a literary form whose influence can still be felt today through the plays in this period (*Elizabethan* 12).<sup>4</sup> Although Bradbrook acknowledges the presence of varied styles of performance and performing spaces, the theatre history she proposed is essentially a London-centred one and has an emphasis on “the crucial development” in the middle of Act III when the Blackfriars became the second theatre to the King’s Men and playwrights of this period began to write for an indoor stage, for the fundamental difference between the two playhouses helps us reconstruct the staging possibilities as the King’s Men must have transported their props when altering between venues and “[t]he details of the theatrical settings may thus be deduced in part from the plays themselves” (*Elizabethan* 11-2).<sup>5</sup>

The principle of this kind of historiography as we can observe in Hosley’s work relies largely on the “external evidence of the Swan by reference to the internal evidence for the Globe”<sup>6</sup> under the assumption that the two playhouses “were essentially similar” (*Revels* 135). Such a reconstruction appears problematic not only because it presumes playhouses of this period were based on similar and somehow interchangeable models but also because Hosley’s use of “external evidence” to reconstruct the Globe appears unreliable. In Hosley’s reconstruction, the structure

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<sup>4</sup> The emphasis on this “Golden Age” of Elizabethan theatre can also be seen in James Shapiro’s *1599: a year in the Life of William Shakespeare*.

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that Bradbrook in her essay “Shakespeare’s Primitive Art” for the 1965 Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy rejects a single generic model of early modern theatre.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Hosley, in *The Revels History of Drama in English 1576-1613*, talks extensively of his uses of external and internal evidence when attempting to reconstruct playhouses of this period. External evidence includes “allusions, descriptions, dictionary definitions, statutes, records of litigation, contracts, plans, pictures and surviving architectural forms” and it is especially useful when it provides dimensions of the venues (133), whilst internal evidence consists of “the staging requirements of particular play-texts” (134).

of the Globe is largely based on his analysis of the Swan, documents such as the Fortune Contract (1599) as well as pictures of various panoramic views of London (*Revels* 176-181). These images sometimes provide inconsistent and imprecise views of the Swan, and the contracts provide dimensions for playhouses which were built either in completely different shapes or built nearly two decades after the Globe. Hosley's reconstruction, albeit problematic, is interesting in its underlying premise which sees play-text as a site which provides us with knowledge of the requirement of an early modern performance. Play-texts, in such a view, appear inseparable from performance and the space of its performance because of the consensus among scholars such as Hosley, Gurr and Wells that playwrights in this period wrote for specific venues, and a working dramatist, such as Shakespeare, certainly would consider the capacity of the playhouse and the capability of his playing troupe whilst composing plays.

However, the question of how an early modern play-text relates to a performance and the extent to which it could tell us about early modern performance and theatrical conventions is not only complicated by issues of provenance and the authority of the play-text but also by the difficulties of how we could define the relationship between play-text and performance in general.

As scholarly attention towards the problems raised by the existence of multiple texts and the nature of textual authority increases over the years, such an approach is criticised for its underlying assumption of Shakespeare as both author and text that "[his] texts are stable and authoritative, that meaning is immanent in them" (Bulman 1). As the authority of play-text often remains an unstable matter, any attempt to retrieve the original performing space via the uses of play-text becomes equally

questionable.

More interestingly, the fundamental premise of Shakespeare as a “working dramatist” whose plays were intended for the stage is further challenged by Lukas Erne, who, in *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, basing his argument on the facts that “many of Shakespeare’s plays are of a length that exceeds those of his contemporaries (Ben Jonson excepted)” and “the majority of the plays Shakespeare had written up to that date were available in print” (25), argues “that Shakespeare, ‘privileged playwright’ that he was, could afford to write plays for the stage *and* the page” (19-20) as he could be equally aware of the theatre audiences and the readership of his plays. Erne’s assumption that Shakespeare could have intended the publication of his plays for his readers, therefore, destabilises the principles that form the basis of a stage-centred approach, as it becomes doubtful the degree to which a printed play-text could reveal the original staging of a performance if the playwright did not necessarily design the spatial practice of a play to meet the specific standard and capacity of a particular playhouse but simply created this world of fiction to please his readership.

Moreover, this kind of architectural reconstruction is also problematised by the difficulties of how we can define the relationship between play-text and performance in general. In the latter part of the twentieth century, these questions of provenance and authority that have the potential to destabilise the immediate connection between a performance space and textual evidence are further complicated by the work of specialists in the theatre such as William B. Worthen and Susan Bennett, who see contemporary performances as opportunities that create meanings and “transform writing into something with performative force,

performative behaviour” (*Force* 9). Their approach avoids the danger raised by the multiple texts issue, which complicates the “authorial intention” of a play, and considers productions as a mode of representation freed from the authority of texts as well as authors. Susan Bennett, in *Performing Nostalgia*, voices her concern over “the contemporary reproduction of the past” which she sees as driven by a sense of nostalgia – a desire for an authentic and authoritative Shakespeare:

[I]t is conspicuous how often Shakespeare performs the role which links the psychic experience of nostalgia to the possibility of reviving an authentic, naturally better, and material past. (7)

Projects conducted under such performance-centred methodologies are more concerned with how a dramatic text from the past can be related to and detached from the contemporary productions in the theatre and how the intricate relationship between text and performance produces “meaning intertextually in ways that deconstruct the notions of intention, fidelity, authority, [and] presence” (Worthen, *Authority* 190). They do not see performance as a “straightforward reiteration of the text and its reclaimed meanings” but a process of transformation that “uses the text to fashion meanings in the citational fashions of contemporary theatrical behaviour” (Worthen, *Force* 9, 62). According to Worthen, the practice of “citation” is “beyond the force of mere speech” (Worthen, *Force* 9, 62), and in Bennett’s writing, early modern play-texts simply become kinds of “textual traces” in stage acting (Bennett 47).

R. A. Foakes, however, in his essay “Performance Theory and Textual Theory: a Retort Courteous,” is rather sceptical of such a critique of stage-centred criticism. He sees the work of Worthen and Bennett as an attempt to “free performance from the bondage of texts” (“Performance Theory” 47) – a methodology which seems to

privilege performance over text. In Foakes' view, a stage performance creates meanings but only "in relation to the social conditions of the age and within the limits of its cultural and political horizons" ("Performance Theory" 53). More importantly, unlike Worthen and Bennett who see the potential in performances to release the diversity and meanings of a play that transcend its text, Foakes views performance of a Shakespeare's play as a "fixed" entity as "it can only reproduce one way of doing it, one set of meanings" ("Performance Theory" 54). To Foakes, performance only differs from the "words on the page" because "directors create a performance text by cutting (in very long plays especially), altering phrases, and making small changes or transpositions, and also because actors may incorporate small alterations in the dialogue from performance to performance" ("Performance Theory" 51).

Foakes' argument receives an interesting response from Worthen who, finding it difficult to settle with any extant models of text-performance relationship, resists the "text-based understanding of dramatic performance" ("Texts, Tools" 212) and argues, "stage doesn't reproduce the text" and certainly does not "articulate 'one set of meanings'" as meaning does not solely arise from or depend on the text ("Texts, Tools" 213).

Foakes' argument – performance is never freed from play-text and it merely provides one way of reading the text – is perhaps feasible if we consider how, in the process of making a theatre production, a director is required to make choices for his/her interpretation of the play. On the other hand, Worthen is right to resist such a readerly approach to stage productions, because to see performance merely as a reproduction of a particular text and one set of meanings is not only prejudiced as it

places text over performance by assuming reading “allows us to hold multiple ‘interpretations’ at once” while a production cannot (“Texts, Tools” 213), but it is also problematic as it implies a unity of perception among spectators and treats the activities of spectatorship as another form of reading.

This discussion between Worthen and Foakes demonstrates the difficulties of defining how performance relates to text. Although, like Worthen, I am also unsatisfied with the extant definitions of such a relationship, I will argue in this thesis, no matter how play-text and performance are associated, the two subjects deserve separate attention because performance exists in an artistic form that is distinct from the literary genre of a play-text. If Worthen is right to point out that performance is freed from and even beyond play-text, it seems problematic if we treat the indicators of staging and spatial codes in an early modern printed play as sufficient and adequate agents to help us retrieve the generic model of an early modern production as well as to reconstruct the physical space and settings of a performance.

Therefore, in addition to demonstrating how the historiography of early modern theatre is problematised by the diverse results of scholarly interpretations of evidentiary supports, Chapter One will also look into how such an attempt to reconstruct a generic model of early modern playhouses architecturally is problematised by its reliance on the literary analysis of the repertory of Shakespeare and his company as well as by a particular focus on decoding stage directions. Early modern stage directions, thus, play a significant part in this thesis as a tool to examine the degree to which they could detect space and spatial practice as well as how they have been used to reconstruct a theatrical space “architecturally.” After

all, whether the transmission from performance to print appears in a direct and straightforward fashion or as a collaborative process that involves a number of parties at separate stages of the production, stage directions that find their way to print are at least to some degree considered a reliable tool in early modern theatrical practice by playwrights, printing house and perhaps theatre personnel.

And as I will demonstrate in Chapter Two, because of the nature of stage directions – unspecific and inconsistent in many cases – editors in modern editions of dramas in this period play a significant part to improve the deficiency of the original stage directions. John Jowett, in *Shakespeare and Text*, provides an insight into an editor's view of the purpose of the editorial approach and intervention to early modern stage directions:

[E]ditorial stage directions help by establishing a more fully realised account of stage action than the base text acknowledges. They do so by modifying and complementing stage directions that are deemed insufficient – not because they belong to the antipathetic world of print, or even because they necessarily come from 'pre-theatrical' or 'post-theatrical' versions of the script, but because early modern sets of stage directions do not comply with a modern reader's sense of what is coherent and adequate. (149)

Although each modern edition may differ in their editorial principles, the main purpose of inserting, conflating or correcting stage directions, as Jowett points out, is to make the text more reader-friendly to its modern readers. The presence of editorial stage directions and annotated commentaries, however, in my opinion, reveals another agenda which shares similarity with that of theatre historians in their attempt to reconstruct a specific or sometimes generic early modern performance and performing space.

In addition to demonstrating how this kind of architectural reconstruction conducted



by theatre historians find its way to the editorial practice in early modern play-texts, I will, in Chapter Two, demonstrate how editors, by adopting the extant models of architectural reconstruction, recreate early modern performances “scenographically” – a spatial reconstruction that takes into account not only the structure of the stage but also the design, props and settings implied by the play-text (Issacharoff 212). Moreover, I will show how such a methodology is similarly problematised by the hypothesis of a text-space relationship, and challenge such editorial approaches by comparing the diverse results found in three recent editions – Oxford, Cambridge and Arden – of *2 Henry VI* and demonstrate how editors, in their attempt to reconstruct scenographically a generic model of early modern performance recognisable to its contemporaries, end up with rather distinctive outcomes.

In the second half of Chapter Two, I will look into an academic approach led by the *REED* scholars who attempt not only to remove the focus on play-texts but also to depart from a London-centred historiography. However, as I will demonstrate, whilst the *REED* scholars only focus on provincial dramatic records of this period without the use of play-text, their discipline remains akin to spatial reconstruction conducted by theatre historians and editors in two ways. First, the concept of space in this project appears mainly architectural as it has a focus on, in addition to the records of provincial performances, the specific venues that were used for these productions. Second, although the spectrum of their research is widened to also include more varied styles of provincial spaces and performances, the project is similarly driven by a hope to search for the traces of Shakespeare and that of a metropolitan model of playing business which found its way into the provinces.

In Chapter Three, I will use a repertory approach to the Queen's Men and see the extent to which the conventional model of theatrical space based on Shakespeare and his company is feasible. To begin with, despite sharing a fundamentally similar goal with theatre historians and editors, *REED* scholars have made a tremendous contribution to finding provincial touring records, and, among them, a large number of entries allow us to trace the performances of the Queen's Men in the provinces (McMillin and MacLean 170-188). And it is because of such an extensive record of touring, I will further examine the spatial codes found in the repertory of the Queen's Men, since, in addition to their regular provincial touring, we have significant evidence that informs us of their formation as a troupe.

In 1583, prestigious players from extant significant playing companies were summoned by Walsingham under the Queen's command to form a company under the Queen's patronage. The company began their career not only in the most promising fashion but also towards a decade before the arrival of Shakespeare whose plays are often employed as a model to reconstruct early modern spatial practice and staging. It is therefore intriguing to compare the spatial codes found in the Queen's Men's repertory with that of Shakespeare and his company in order to see the extent to which the existing architectural and scenographic spatial reconstruction based on the model of Shakespeare's plays is also a model suitable for the repertory of the Queen's Men. In addition, unlike the King/Chamberlain's Men and Admiral's Men, this playing company does not have a permanent foothold in the capital for their productions. This is crucial in terms of the degree to which the spatial practice indicated in their repertory differs from that of Shakespeare and Marlowe's playing companies: i.e. whether or not the Queen's Men's repertoire suggests a more flexible style of spatial practice to suit the need of frequent travelling or a style akin to that of

companies with permanent playing venues. To examine such a repertory can clarify whether and/or the extent to which such kinds of reconstruction of spatial practices and architectural features in playhouses is feasible.

And as I will demonstrate in Chapter Three, although stage directions remain one of the most direct indicators of the theatrical and spatial aspect of plays in this period, the spatial practice implied by the play-texts in this repertory remains akin to rather than distinctive from a model of playing business in the capital. Therefore, instead of revealing a theatrical space that is reconstructable architecturally and scenographically since the Queen's Men did not have a permanent foothold in London, what the stage directions in this repertory reveal is an allegorical and didactic style of dramaturgy, and a spatial practice that appears mainly determined by the style of its dramatic narrative.

### **Space in Typography: the Role of Printers**

After examining the feasibility of an architectural and scenographic reconstruction through stage directions in a repertory approach, Chapter Four will look into the extent to which our understanding of a theatrical space could be shaped not only by the play-text but also by the materiality of the play book. As Farmer and Lesser point out, since the printing house is the last destination where a play makes its way into print and it is the stationer who has acquired the right to publish, not the author's or the printing house, the stationers "had the most to gain or lose from these sales" and "the greatest incentive to advertise" through title pages (78-9). Under such hypotheses, a consensus has been born among scholars, such as Tiffany Stern, Zachary Lesser and Alan B. Farmer, that "[t]he responsibility for designing a

book's title page typically fell to its publisher" (Farmer and Lesser 78-9), and these para-textual materials were employed as a kind of advertisement to promote books - a means of communication a publisher attempted to bridge with whoever came across the books.

As theatrical associations are often seen on dramatic title pages when printers/publishers make references to the location and playing company of the productions, I will, in Chapter Four, deal with theatrical spaces in print. I will look at a specific case of the printer Thomas Creede and his theatrical output, and examine the degree to which we could make a similar assumption that our understanding of theatrical space through a play-text is influenced by the layout and typography of the text which were presumably designed by the printers/publishers. And as I will demonstrate, the theatrical space revealed in this approach, rather than representational, is a spatial practice shaped and defined by typography and para-textual elements that relate the book of the play with a playing business contemporary to its readers or appearing long before it has reached the printing house. The concept of space in this chapter can be varied as a play book can be directly associated with a specific playhouse through title page attribution and sometimes it can be associated with a playing company whose staging career is long gone as I will demonstrate with the 1630 woodcut of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* in Chapter Four. However, what is revealed in the case study of Thomas Creede's dramatic output, especially in terms of the layout of his play books, is an increased awareness of using existing technical devices (i.e. font and layout of the text) to differentiate the dramaturgical differences between the mimesis and diegesis as well as the spoken and non-spoken elements. In early modern printed drama, typography was not only employed to differentiate one spatial practice from another

such as the distinction between dialogue, speech prefixes and stage directions but was also at times used to differentiate the varied levels of diegesis within a printed drama. Akin to what I have discovered from a repertory approach to the Queens' Men, what a play-text or a printed play book reveals is fundamentally a space determined by the styles of its narrative.

Therefore, space within a dramatic text, if we look mainly at the mise-en-page of a printed play book, I will argue, is ultimately a "narrative" space. This concept will be further discussed and elaborated in Chapter Five in which an author-centred approach will be conducted to focus on the repertory of Robert Greene in order to demonstrate how different styles of dramatic forces in early modern England could challenge a theatrical model that is solely based on Shakespeare.

### **Space of Reading: Reconsidering Weimann's Locus and Platea**

Whilst a number of critics seek structural dimensions and conventional spatial practice from printed play-texts such as Hosley's attempt to reconstruct early modern playhouses and Dessen and Thomson's effort to reveal a theatrical convention and vocabulary shared by playhouse personnel, Weimann uses play-texts to discuss forms of theatrical spaces by distinguishing the diverse modes of narrative. According to Weimann, the presence of roles that possess diverse sets of functions places a boundary in the theatrical space on stage/page since these fictional characters belong to different sides of Sidney's ideal of a "speaking picture"- a self-contained world of representation that provides moral ends (331). What Philip Sidney complained of his contemporary playwrights who "[mingle] kings and clowns" and produce "mongrel tragic-comedy" (357) – a rather popular theatrical convention which mingles characters of distinct quality and status in the same play/scene – is at

the heart of Weimann's division of spatial practices. In *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition* and *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, he employs two terms he finds in use in late medieval as well as early modern drama - locus and platea – with the help of the Swan drawing to discuss the two sides of theatrical space. Generally speaking, platea means a place or a platform-like area, and locus “can be literally a scaffold but can also be any specifically demarcated space or architectural feature capable of being given representational meaning” (Dillon 4). The important distinction between the two lies in their function - whilst a locus represents a particular fictional location, the platea is not tied to the fictional spaces where the drama takes place. The former, according to Weimann, belongs to the fictional world – “the space *in* representation” – as opposed to the latter, “the place *of* representation” (*Author's* 189). Whereas locus always represents “stage-as-fictional-world,” platea remains “unlocalised” – “the stage-as-stage” – a concept that can also be observed in Bernard Beckerman's analysis of Shakespeare's unlocalised scenes in *Shakespeare at the Globe* (Weimann, *Author's* 190-191; Beckermann 65-67).

His view on theatrical space, therefore, can be grouped in the category of a narrative space as he appears similarly less concerned with the architectural or scenographic aspect of a playing venue but more focused on the idea of a space defined and divided by the style of performance. However, as I will demonstrate in Chapter Five, despite the fact that his spatial division is largely based on the styles of discourse within a play, Weimann's distinction of locus and platea remains one of the most influential accounts which attempts to bridge the connection between an architectural space and the styles of a dramatic discourse. Although Weimann's model of spatial division is deduced from his analysis of play-texts, literary figures,

their functions and potential rapport with the audience, Weimann substantially expands his idea of a narrative spatial division to the structural demarcation of the downstage and upstage area. Moreover, in addition to his grouping of the locus and platea with the physical structure of a stage, Weimann's attempt is also complicated by the particular emphasis on the repertory of Shakespeare. It is a theatrical space driven by his political desire to construct an idea of a "popular" theatre in conflict with less "popular" modes of representation.

In order to depart from a model associated with the conventional architectural theatre reconstruction, Chapter Five will look specifically into how theatrical spaces can be distinguished by the diverse modes of narrative and employ two terms which are originally employed by modern narratologists – mimesis and diegesis – to demonstrate such kinds of narrative spatial divisions (Genette 162). The former denotes a style of narrating technique that creates the illusion that the audience/readers are shown the action as it is, and the later refers to a mode of narrative that essentially gives us a panoramic or summarising view of what happens (Hawthorn 73). In *Space and Reference in Drama*, Issacharoff further distinguished such narrative spatial distinctions as mimetic and diegetic space: whilst the former denotes "what is made visible to an audience and represented on stage," the later refers to what is described by the characters" (215). And it is these two terms – diegesis and mimesis – which are particularly useful in demonstrating a spatial division and transgression caused by the diverse dramaturgical devices available in the plays in this period. Although the locus can be analogous to the mimetic mode of narrative as readers are shown actions and dialogues within the fictional world and the platea appears to resemble the diegetic practice as characters of the ordinary world jest, bond with and tell instead of show the story and their vision of

the fictional world in representation, the two narratological terms can be used to demonstrate a much wider range of spatial divisions than Weimann's model. And as I will demonstrate in Chapter Five, unlike locus and platea, mimesis and diegesis do not denote spatial divisions that are closely associated with the architectural structure of a stage and the physical distance between an actor and an audience.

Although the division between mimetic and diegetic space can be used to discuss spatial practice onstage, when they are used to distinguish the forms of space in early modern play-texts, they are inevitably referring to a space of narrative, determined by the mimesis and diegesis, because the spatial practice of this period can only be transmitted to us by verbal medium. In addition to reconsidering Weimann's locus and platea, I will also examine spatial divisions found in play-texts outside Shakespeare's canon and look at the specific case of Robert Greene in order to see the extent to which Weimann's model is sufficient to define the narrative spaces in printed play-texts in this period. I single out Greene's plays here not simply because of Greene's infamous declaration of Shakespeare as an "upstart crow" but mainly due to the fact that Greene's plays illustrate a unique style of dramaturgy that creates a transgression and division of narrative space distinct from Weimann's model which is primarily based on Shakespeare's repertory. I will demonstrate how a narrative space can be further complicated by the use of theatrical conventions such as chorus, dumb shows or other meta-theatrical devices, as well as by the presence of different levels of diegesis (i.e. story worlds) as the visual representation of a scene becomes unclear when more than one set of characters of diverse time and fictional spaces coexist in the same scene but do not necessarily interact with one another.



To sum up, the theatrical spaces discussed in this thesis can be divided into the following categories:

- (a) An architectural space which deals with the physical aspect of a theatre and takes into consideration the structure and dimension of a stage;
- (b) A scenographic space which further considers the staging, properties and other requirements implied by an early modern play-text;
- (c) A narrative space which is defined by the mimetic and diegetic styles of narrative within a dramatic text.

The first two categories will be used to discuss the theatre reconstruction done by historians and editors in Chapter One and Chapter Two. And as I will demonstrate in the second half of the thesis, the kind of theatrical space we could gain primarily from studying play-texts through either a repertory or author-oriented approach or from analysing the materiality of a play book is ultimately a space determined by the style of its narrative and the diverse dramatic forces available in this period which is unavoidably distinctive from an architectural or scenographic space.

## **Chapter One**

### **A History of History: Contemporary Historiographical Approaches to Early Modern Theatrical Space**

#### **The Historiography of Early Modern Theatre History**

Any attempt to deal with theatrical space in early modern England cannot avoid looking into the extant scholarship of theatre reconstruction and the relevant historiographical approaches. The discussion of space in theatre history of this period can often be observed in scholarly attempts to reconstruct playhouses architecturally and, as briefly discussed in the Introduction, is often interwoven with its relationship with play-texts and the associated fluctuating theatre personnel. The goal of theatre historians is ultimately to demonstrate how early modern plays were performed in a particular space by a certain group of actors, and how external circumstances, social or economic, could possibly affect the ups and downs of the acting profession.

According to Peter Holland, theatre history is an “analytic discipline, a field of study which takes a properly scientific and skeptical approach to the material evidence” (24). From Edmond Malone to E. K. Chambers, theatre historians have established an archival and documentary system for historical writing. Their accounts of the evidentiary documents are most praised for their detailed illustration and analyses. Their effort, however, is often complicated by the source and authority of evidence which eventually leads to a variety of compositions that differ in their outcomes not because of the supporting materials available to them but because of the diversity of their interpretation of those evidence. In Ingram’s words, historians “identified events, set out to discover evidence about them, reconstructed that evidence empirically into facts, and re-presented ‘how it was’ in a narrative of [one’s] own

devising" ("Future" 218) – an approach that often leads to the derogation of theatre history as mere myth-making narratives. Historians, Andrew Gurr and Glynne Wickham among them, are accused of interweaving their account and analyses of companies, space and plays into a coherent and continuous whole (Kathman 360) – a representative and definitive history which, according to Ingram, is only attainable by "rigorous selecting, pruning and rearranging – the tools of the fiction writer" (Ingram, "Future" 225).

In this chapter, I would like to look into the problem within this kind of historiography and how this methodology similarly problematises the scholarly attempt to reconstruct playhouses in early modern London. I will begin with a demonstration of the key patterns in the narratives of early modern theatre companies established by Andrew Gurr and Glynn Wickham as well as William Ingram, and show how they triangulate spaces, companies and plays to make a particular case. By analysing and comparing their historiographical methodology, I wish to draw attention to how different narratives are produced with the support of similar evidentiary documents, and how these narratives are problematised by their idiosyncratic choice of evidence and epochal frames. More importantly, by paralleling the patterns of their historical writings, I do not intend to give superiority to an "encyclopedic" approach that refuses to represent history in a narrative form over a historiography that prioritises narratives. Instead, I am simply demonstrating the difficulties in constructing early modern theatre history and the obstacles historians face when evidentiary support is scarce and only a small proportion of professional and commercial play-texts in this period remain available to us. Moreover, I would like to draw attention to the problems within such a heavily text-reliant historiography and reconstruction of early modern theatres.

From *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* to *The Shakespeare Company 1594-1642*, Andrew Gurr repeatedly brings focus to his theory of the 1594 “duopoly” of Chamberlain’s Men and Admiral’s Men who dominated the playing business in London up to the seventeenth century. In his *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, Gurr begins his theory of the duopoly with the formation of the Queen’s Men in 1583. He “strongly” suspects that Charles Howard, later known as Lord Admiral, was the main “instigator” of setting up a monopolistic royal company (*Playing Companies* 198-199), and he further assumes that, after the Queen’s Men’s split in 1588 and the reopening of theatres in London in 1594 (*Playing Companies* 204), Howard became more active in his intervention over the London playing companies and negotiated a “deal” with his father-in-law, Henry Carey, the Lord Chamberlain to “set up a pair of monopolistic companies to replace the disintegrating Queen’s Men, and gave each of the new companies a fixed and clearly designated playhouse in the London suburbs to play in” (*Playing Companies* 21). By specifying the Globe and the Fortune as the first theatres designed for resident companies (*Playing Companies* 25), Gurr extends his theory of the monopolistic companies by applying it to the evolution of the relationship between audience, theatres and playing troupes. Gurr claims, as a company settled in a playhouse giving performance every day of the week, the audiences “got into the habit of expecting to see a fresh play every day” and caused the intense demand of playwriting (*Playing Companies* 24). He further concludes, “[t]he eleven years between the first large company in 1583 and the first firm foothold with a fixed playing-place in London in 1594 saw radical changes for the few leading companies” as the duopoly companies “started the massive shift from habitual travelling to habitual residence in London” (*Playing Companies* 29).

By connecting the deals between patrons, the growing demand for plays and venues

specifically designated to the monopolistic companies which eventually changed the ecology of the acting profession, Gurr demonstrates a theatre history from 1576 to 1600 during which the playing business in London began and gradually matured. The 1594 duopoly is the key element that interweaves the relationship of companies, theatres and plays, and helps him explain the progression of the early modern playing business – a narrative that can be seen in his article “Three Reluctant Patrons and Early Shakespeare” published in 1993 and in the first half of *The Shakespearean Playing Companies* in 1994 and it becomes somehow an indisputable fact after numerous recitations in *The Shakespeare Company* in 2003.

However, no document about the “deal” of 1594 survives. And, as Gurr has noted, it was only “reaffirmed” in the letter from the Privy Council to the Master of the Revels, the Justices of Middlesex and Surry, on 19 February 1598, in which the Council stated that “licence hath bin graunted unto two companies of stage players retained unto us, the Lord Admiral & Lord Chamberlain, to use and practice stage playes” (“Patrons” 165; *Shakespeare Company* 18). Another “direct” evidence Gurr shows is the order on 22 June 1600 which “tried to check new inroads by specifying not only the two companies but the two new playhouses, the Fortune and the Globe. . . as the only players and places authorised for London performances” (“Patrons” 165). None of these directly shows the influence of the two noble patrons and none of them specified 1594 as the year of the duopoly deal. So why does Gurr choose the year 1594 as his demarcation?

Gurr’s assumption is deduced from the reshuffling of personnel in the two monopolistic companies after the closing of London theatres due to the plague from early 1593 to 1594. As several members of the new Admiral’s Men after 1594 were

drawn from other groups, Gurr suspects that the two Privy Councillors, Carey and Howard, “were doing what Walsingham had done with the Queen’s [Men], selecting a few men from each of several different groups” (“Patrons”166). However, his reading of these materials become highly problematic as they have no direct indication that the two patrons, despite their in-law relation, negotiated a duopoly of the companies under their patronage, and that the two councillors had carried out such a plan in exactly 1594 after the theatres in London reopened.

Interestingly, Gurr’s main evidentiary support for the 1594 deal is applied rather differently in Glynne Wickham’s *Early English Stages 1300-1660*. In the second part of his second volume, Wickham begins his narrative with the Privy Council order of 1597 for the destruction of all playhouses in and about London. Whilst Gurr stresses the importance of the 1594 duopoly plan, the year 1597 has more significance to Wickham. To begin with, Wickham demonstrates a series of events that took place from 1597 to 1598. These include the correspondence between the Lord Mayor of London and the Privy Council for the destruction of the theatres, Pembroke’s Men’s *Isle of Dogs* affray at the Swan which induced the temporary imprisonment of one of its authors Ben Jonson and members of Pembroke’s Men such as Robert Shaw and Gabriel Spencer (Chambers 2: 132), and the same letter which “reaffirmed” Gurr’s 1594 duopoly plan from the Privy Council to the Master of the Revels and the magistrates of Middlesex and Surrey. According to Wickham, the duopoly of the two companies in London was not a result of the negotiation between the two Privy Councillors but a compromising policy of the government responding to the *Isle of Dogs* affray in the Swan, a scandal that embarrassed the government and provoked an “immediate order from the Privy Council condemning both authors and actors to a spell in prison and authorizing the City Council to

demolish all playhouses in and around London” (5).

The order of the demolition was to appease the Lord Mayor and Aldermen but, as Wickham claims, the Privy Council also left a “breathing space” as it was not a final declaration. First, the order applied to “public performances in London only” and excluded “both the Court and the provinces” (Wickham 11). Second, it was a “restraint” not “suppression” and the order only lasted from August to October, which “[coincided] with the normal holiday season” when most patrons would not be in London; thus, it did not affect acting business as much as it seemed to (Wickham 11). Third, this order could not be carried out immediately. The owners of the playhouses and venues were to be informed and the virtual practice of destroying the venues would not take place until owners were assured compensation (Wickham 11). The immediate destruction of a building was also complicated by the dispute between landlords and tenants (Wickham 14-17). Thus, the seemingly strict order from the Privy Council, as Wickham argues, was actually set out to protect players rather than to suppress them.

Alternatively, to compromise between the players and the City Fathers, the Privy Council lifted the restraint on acting but only allowed two companies who were “most closely under the disciplinary control of the Privy Council to prepare plays to entertain the Queen at Christmas” (Wickham 19). According to Wickham, “[p]reparing plays means both rehearsing and testing them before public audiences: this means possessing a playhouse in which to present them” (19). Therefore, he concludes, the Rose and the Curtain along with the Admiral’s and Chamberlain’s Men were “relicensed to oblige the Queen” while Pembroke’s Men and the Swan were not (Wickham 19). And the two licensed theatres were later on replaced by the first

Globe in 1599 and the first Fortune in 1601 (Wickham 29).

The evidentiary documents both Gurr and Wickham apply to their narratives are the Privy Council order on 19 February 1598 in which the Council stated only Lord Admiral and Lord Chamberlain's Men were allowed to "use and practice stage plays" (*Shakespeare Company* 250) as well as the order on 22 June 1600 where the Privy Council indicated that only two playhouses, the first Globe and Fortune, and "no more [were] allowed to serve for the use of the Common Stage Plaies" (*Shakespeare company* 252). Both illustrate the same period of history; however, while Gurr demarcates the early modern theatre history with the formation of the monopolistic companies in 1583 and 1594, Wickham chooses the *Isle of Dogs* affair in 1597 as his watershed. While Gurr presents the two patrons, the Lord Admiral and Lord Chamberlain, as the main manipulators of the monopolisation of the playing business in London, Wickham demonstrates the restriction of playing to only two companies at two designated theatres as a consequence of the compromising strategy which the monarchy adopted to appease the City Magistrates after the *Isle of Dogs* scandal as well as to "align itself with the theatre" (26) by regulating the playing companies and venues but lifting the ban of all performances in London (10-26).

As Ingram has pointed out, "different practitioners using the same sets of data might of course construct different kinds of narratives to make different kinds of claims" ("Future" 218). However, such practices become problematic when practitioners weave those events into a continuous whole and when their narratives tend to "arrogate truth-claims" to themselves ("Future" 218). In his book *The Business of Playing*, instead of ploughing directly into his stated attempt to "explore the circumstances in which theatrical enterprises grew in London in the sixteenth



century" (14), Ingram begins with a rumination on the contemporary historiography that creates a "tunnel vision" as historians isolate theatrical events from other contemporary issues in London to form and create their own coherent historical writings (119-123). All narratives, according to him, have "an annoying habit of expanding into meta-narratives" ("Future" 218) as the evidentiary documents are themselves narratives and are further explained and demonstrated by new narratives. His awareness and recognition of history as creative writing thus lead him to "resist constructing a story, preferring instead to explore the gaps and discontinuities in the evidence itself" (*Business* 217).

Setting out for a history that is discontinuous and fragmented, Ingram's momentous task is to disrupt the common consensus that the professional theatre in London begins in 1576 when the Theatre was built in Shoreditch. His major claim is to see 1576 as a point of culmination rather than the beginning of the stage business. To begin with, the records of costume rentals in the 1560s reflect the thriving of the acting enterprise in London (68-69). Second, there were three royal playing companies in the 1530s and 1540s (*Business* 76). Third, by 1550s, groups of players were so prevalent in London that the Court of Aldermen decreed that they could not legally perform within the City without a license (*Business* 84). Ingram suggests that the players were forced into professionalism much earlier than his peers have assumed and that the licensing regulations and increased governmental control "impelled the players to consider their own self-interest and to devise new ways of managing their affairs" (*Business* 90). Furthermore, by a more recent discovery of the erection of the Red Lion playhouse and the playing structure in Stepney as early as 1567, Ingram suspects these constructions were the "culmination of something antecedent" (*Business* 65) and questions the conventional assumption of the first

appearance of playhouses as the first appearance of “real” plays and productions (*Business* 64-65).

More importantly, apart from gradually dismantling the theory of the year 1576 as the origin of the professional playing business in London, Ingram’s narrative is distinctive as he attempts to resist composing a “full history” of the adult professional theatres by repeatedly reminding readers of the alternative possibilities of interpreting the evidentiary records on which he bases his theory. However, despite Ingram’s effort to avoid constructing a continuous theatre history, he still fails to free himself from “the conviction that there is always something a bit further back that will explain how we got to wherever we are at any given moment” (“Evolution” 14), an impulse to seek the origin and important watersheds to define the past. In the epilogue of *The Business of Playing*, Ingram concludes,

[A]fter 1576 the existence of playhouses marks perhaps the most striking difference between playing ‘in London’ and playing in the provinces . . . With the building of the three playhouses in the environs of the City in 1576, a new kind of legitimacy arrived, social and economic rather than governmental or civic, psychological rather than legal. After 1576 there were, for playing companies with the right access to their proprietors, three proper places available for playing . . . The presence of these buildings must have altered the mental landscape for players and playwrights alike.

(239-240)

By singling out 1576 as a defining moment that reflects the prosperity of the playing business, Ingram simply moves the origin of the professional acting enterprise to an earlier period but still does not escape the conventional historiography that constructs historical narratives by using certain epochal frames. Even though he refuses to see 1576 as the beginning of the playing enterprise, he still has “a secret affinity” for an explanatory origin that is to be found at about mid- fifteenth-century (“Evolution” 14). No matter how much he desires to avoid presenting his evidence

in a coherent form, it is impossible for him completely to escape the subjective voice within his own narrative. And even though he attempts to demonstrate his evidentiary data in other forms rather than that of narrative, such as diagrams and lists, it is not necessarily the narrative but the idiosyncratic selection of his evidence that problematises such a practice.

Gurr, Wickham and Ingram, despite the difference between their viewpoints and attitudes towards the historiography of the early modern theatre, construct historical narratives, either in a continuous or fragmentary form, by means of selecting evidentiary support for their argument and framing epochs by certain “significant” events. Such a methodology – selecting and interpreting evidence of varied sources and degrees of authority – can also be largely observed in the scholarly attempt to reconstruct playing spaces in early modern England, primarily playhouses in London that are associated with what Gurr would refer to as the duopoly companies: the Chamberlain’s Men and Admiral’s Men.

There are two aspects of theatre reconstruction that fall into historians’ main concerns. Their goal is to retrieve a model of the external architectural features of a playhouse as well as the scenographic requirement implied by plays especially when they are associated with a particular venue. The main obstacle they encounter, however, as all historians would, is the fact that we have only a handful of evidence for varied playing spaces (i.e. the Swan drawing, the Fortune and Hope Contract) and they appear insufficient to meet the purpose to give us a full picture of any of the playhouses internally or externally.

Therefore, despite the fundamental difference between space, performance and play-text as discussed in the Introduction, early modern stage directions are often

considered the most obvious spatial code in a play-text – an indicator that most directly connects a play in print with playhouse practice and are often used to reconstruct early modern theatre architecturally and scenographically. It is, therefore, important to clarify here the nature, function, and scholarly reception of stage directions in early modern plays before I go on to demonstrate the underlying problems of the scholarly usage and treatment of this dramatic device.

### **Stage Directions and Theatrical Space in Early Modern Printed Texts: an Architectural Reconstruction**

Generally speaking, stage directions in early modern dramas are used to cue the physical stage movement, such as the entrance/exit of a character, a sequence of actions and the requirement of a stage property. They also function to introduce the location and the occasion of the scene, and signal musical instruments or machineries for spectacles. They exist in early modern play-texts and manuscripts, and are commonly employed by playwrights, bookkeepers and scribes of the period where they see fit.

Straightforward as it may sound, however, “stage direction” is a term that stands in the cross roads of several distinct, yet somehow overlapped, fields. They appear in a printed or manuscript play in the form of narrative as a part of the play-text, yet they are often treated as a separate entity from the spoken dialogue that constitutes the majority of a dramatic piece. The reception of this term often places a hierarchical order between the stage directions and the spoken dialogue in a play-text. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, a stage direction is “*inserted* in a written or printed play where it is thought necessary to indicate the appropriate action” or a kind of “stage-management” (my emphasis). The choice of

the word “inserted” suggests that stage directions are added to a play and somehow do not appear to be an integral part of the play. R. B. McKerrow, in *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare* published in 1939, further refers to stage directions as the accessories to the spoken texts (19).

Scholarly reception of stage directions in terms of how they are related to early modern theatrical space is also reflected in how this term is employed in different projects and disciplines. Richard Hosley, in his “Gallery Over the Stage in the Public Playhouse of Shakespeare’s Time,” defines this term by making a further distinction between “theatrical and fictional” signals (16): the former refers to “structure or equipment” which includes technical terms such as “aloft” or “from above” as opposed to the latter which includes directions such as “upon the walls” and “within the prison” – revealing more of the fictional status of the play (16-7). Hosley’s purpose is clear, since by making such a differentiation, he is able to narrow down stage directions with structural references as evidentiary support to reconstruct the performing conditions of early modern playhouses. Similar reception of this term can also be observed in Dessen and Thomson’s *Dictionary of Stage Direction 1580 - 1642*. They perceive stage direction as a kind of “theatrical vocabulary” used by playwright, bookkeepers and scribes, and behind their goal is the assumption of the presence of a language that is also shared by theatre personnel as well as contemporary playgoers (vii) – a language that “constitute[s] the primary evidence for what we know (or think we know) about the presentation of such plays to their original audiences” (vii) – a view which treats stage directions, to some degree, as a record of the early modern production and theatrical space. And under such premises, stage directions are often seen as a source for theatre historians to look for evidence of early modern playhouse practice.

However, it is a tricky business to search for evidence of playhouse practice from products of the printing house. The degree and kinds of authority given to stage directions in printed materials are reliant on the provenance of individual play-text and they are subject to change, depending on whether the stage directions are “furnished by the players” (Malone 1: lviii), inserted by the bookkeepers who prepared promptbooks, added by the scribes who make copies from the manuscripts, or edited by the compositors who prepare for the printed version of the play or written by the authors. These potential sources of stage directions thus open up a number of different relationships between playwrights, audiences, readers, printers/booksellers, and actors. They can imply rather different functions that can be mutually exclusive to one another – an authorial instruction to the performers, actors’ or bookkeepers’ notes for a particular production, playwrights’ elaborations on the actions to the readers or the printers’ intention to bridge the gap between a play in print and a play on stage.

The nature of stage directions found in printed plays and manuscripts in this period poses another problem in treating stage directions as an indicator of the spatial practices in early modern theatre. The wording of stage directions, as Dessen and Thomson pointed out, is often “opaque rather than transparent” (viii) so that even the seemingly “concrete” stage directions can be difficult for interpreters to decide the likelihood of its staging in the performance of this period. For instance, it is possible that the stage direction “Enter Faustus in his Study” in the A-text of *Doctor Faustus* (A3<sup>r</sup>) signals: (1) an elaborate scene with properties including books and bookshelves etc., (2) a standardised action mimed from the actor who plays Faustus that suggests his entrance into the study, (3) the use of audience’s imagination as Faustus’ first line “[s]ettle thy studies” implies this fictional location, or (4) the

combination of the options provided.

The imprecise and sometimes inconsistent nature of this term proves to be far from reader-friendly, and even the most necessary stage directions such as the entrance and exit of a character are not always cued consistently. In *The Scottish History of James IV*, an entrance is signaled for Slipper the clown at line 806, but there is no stage direction to signal his departure when the Countess orders, “Go take him[Slipper] in and feast this merrie swaine,/Syrha, my cooke is your phisitian” (922-3). An example can be observed from the “massed” entrances in the Folio text of *The Winter’s Tale* where all the characters appearing in the thirteen scenes are cued to enter at the very beginning, even though they are not necessarily required to enter at the start. This is a printing convention which is sometimes associated with the printing of classical drama and a usage which occurs in three of the comedies (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *The Winter’s Tale*) in Shakespeare First Folio – an idiosyncratic feature which is usually associated with the scribe Ralph Crane (Dessen, “Massed Entries” 119). In the case of *The Winter’s Tale*, Camillo’s appearance in the opening stage direction in Act 1 scene 2 does not necessarily refer to his entry. As Dessen has suggested, since Camillo does not speak in the first two hundred lines, it is possible that he only enters at the point when he is summoned by Leontes later on in the scene, even though most of the contemporary editions such as Arden 3 and Riverside Shakespeare version include him in the opening entrance of the scene (“Massed Entries” 121).

The imprecision of stage direction can also be seen in the opening scene of *Titus Andronicus* where a stage direction cues the entry of Titus, his two sons, Tamora, her sons, Chiron, Demetrius, and Aaron, but also signals the entry of “others *as many as*

*can be*" (83-9; my italics) – a kind of stage direction that is imprecise and also considered as "permissive" when "the key details are left indeterminate or open" for "the writer of the stage direction may not be certain how many actors will be available as supernumeraries" (Dessen, "Theatre Historian" 3). Similar permissive stage directions can be observed when a collective noun is used, such as attendants, men, followers, and train. The use of modifiers, such as "several," "certain," and "sundry," in conjunction with an entrance/exit also leaves the stage direction indeterminate (Dessen, "Theatre Historian" 3).

In addition, the inconsistency of stage directions also varies from play to play. While in some plays characters and stage properties are cued more consistently, some are not, and sometimes they are not cued at all. In Ben Jonson's first quarto edition of *Volpone* in 1606, no stage direction is signaled, and although characters are named at the beginning of each scene, the normal usage of "enter" or "exit" is not included (Dessen and Thomson xii) – a printing convention that is considered "continental" (Dessen, "Massed Entries" 1).

The imprecise and inconsistent nature of early modern stage directions leads Alan Dessen to conclude that "what emerges for this scattered but nonetheless suggestive evidence [i.e. stage directions] is a sense of collaborative theatrical process where the authors of the surviving stage directions took for granted the professionalism and expertise of the players" ("Theatre Historian" 11). And although this "shared theatrical vocabulary" (Dessen and Thomson vii) implies the existence of a theatrical convention in the early modern period – a "notational system" (Jowett 148) for the theatre and playhouse personnel, it is important to note, as John Jowett points out, "stage directions do not formally note the actions they anticipate" (148). As a "conventionalised physical description" such as "mad"



or “fight” may be calling for specific standardised actions, these theatrical terms are not expressed in a precise form that denotes the exact physical action or movement required (Jowett 147-8).

Because of this inconsistent and unspecific nature of stage directions, it becomes even more problematic when theatre historians attempt to decode the spatial codes of this theatrical device and depend heavily on the literary analysis of play-texts when reconstructing a theatre architecturally and scenographically. Despite the underlying problems of stage directions as discussed above, historians continue to employ these “spatial codes” to reconstruct early modern playhouses especially when evidentiary support, such as the plays’ title pages, identify their playing troupes and venues under the assumption that authors compose plays with specific theatres in mind (Gurr, “Amphitheatres” 47-62) as well as the hypothesis that we have reliable versions of the plays that record the original performances. Naturally, repertoires such as that of the Chamberlain’s Men receive particular attention not simply because of their association with the Globe theatre but also because of the conviction that the arrival of this company with their collaboration with Shakespeare and his contemporaries reaches the golden age of Elizabethan theatre and thus a stage worthy to represent early modern theatre in general.<sup>7</sup> As Gurr points out in “Some Reasons to Focus on the Globe and the Fortune,” “The Globe and the Fortune were the first [playhouses] to be designed by and for the actual playing company that expected to use them. Hence, there is a potentially double value in the plays written for the first Globe between 1600 and 1608” (24). This “double value” in plays associated with a theatre such as the Globe is a typical example of how theatre historians emphasise the importance of play-texts, an understanding that a script

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<sup>7</sup> See Introduction 10-11.

could reveal spatial codes of a particular theatre and thus enhance our awareness of not only a playwright's dramatic vision but how a company may make use of the theatre spatially.

More importantly, under such assumptions, historians – including Richard Hosley, Glynn Wickham and Andrew Gurr – conduct theatre reconstruction not only through a repertory approach – using spatial indications in plays that have been identified with a particular company and playhouse to reconstruct theatres architecturally – but also with the help of architectural or structural evidence of other playing spaces.

The Swan Drawing is often heavily relied on in such theatre reconstruction as it remains one of the sole significant pictorial evidence that depicts the internal structure of a theatre in this period and reveals the details of an elevated stage, a viewing area above it,<sup>8</sup> two doors, two stage pillars and three layers of galleries.

The other piece of evidence that is also deeply depended on is the Fortune Contract as it demonstrates Henslowe's intention to Peter Streete, a carpenter who previously built the Globe, to have the Fortune theatre built "in all other porporcions Contryved and fashioned like vnto the Stadge of the . . . Globe" and constructed with "a shadow and cover over the saide stadge" (Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary* 308). Examples can be seen from E. K. Chambers' illustration of the Globe by using the dimensions and measurement found in the Fortune contract in *The Elizabethan Stage* (3: 82-5) to the modern reconstruction of the much debated pillars to support the heavens of the new Globe opened in the summer of 1997.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The viewing area shown in the Swan drawing is generally considered "a stage balcony and its audience in the 'lords' room'" (Gurr, *Playgoing* 21) but the presence of such an area also prompts debate of whether this upstage chamber serve the purpose of a music room or a upper stage where performance such as the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet* takes place. Discussion of the purpose and utilisation of an upper stage can be seen in Richard Hosley's "The Origins of the So-Called Elizabethan Multiple Stage" and "The Use of the Upper Stage in *Romeo and Juliet*."

<sup>9</sup> For a cogent discussion of this issue, see Paul Nelsen, "Positing Pillars at the Globe."

The combination of the evidence of the play-texts as well as pictorial and archival documentations can also be seen in Hosley's attempt in *The Revels History of Drama in English*. According to him,

A full reconstruction of the Swan is possible because of the abundance of external evidence, yet a theory based on that evidence cannot be adequately tested because of the paucity of internal evidence, there being only one extant play [Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*] (1613) probably written for performance at the Swan. Conversely, only a very limited reconstruction of the Globe is possible because of the internal evidence – twenty-nine extant plays belonging to the period from 1599-1608. I suggest that the two problems may profitably be treated as complementary.  
(*Revels* 135).

Under such premises, Hosley, albeit acknowledging the difficulties in reconstructing the first Globe externally due to the lack of evidence, "hypothesised a general similarity of the Globe and the Swan, partly in response to perennial interest in the playhouse of Shakespeare, partly in order to make use of the wealth of internal evidence surviving for the Globe where almost no internal evidence survives for the Swan" (*Revels* 227). His reconstruction of the Globe includes a detailed analysis of stage directions in the twenty-nine plays associated with the venue, and eventually reaches a conclusion that since twelve of them "refer in stage directions to two doors" such as *Henry V*, *Twelfth Night*, *Satiromastix* and *Pericles*, the requirement for the repertoire "would generally have been satisfied by the two doors of the tiring-house" (*Revels* 195). Even though he notes that "[t]wenty of the twenty-nine Globe plays do not require a discovery" (*Revels* 182), he adds that "[d]iscoveries could have been accommodated within one of the tiring-house doorways" (*Revels* 195) under the hypothesis that "the stage and tiring-house of the First Globe were generally similar to the stage and tiring-house of the Swan" (*Revels* 181).

Similar kinds of reconstruction can be seen in volume two of Glynne Wickham's *Early English Stages 1300-1600* in which he adopts the usage of external evidence such as the Swan drawing and the Fortune contract with the help of stage directions in play-texts performed in the venues he attempts to reconstruct and reaches the conclusion that the Swan had two doors, the Cockpit-in-Court had five and the Salisbury Court as well as the Blackfriars had three (191-20).

Wickham's effort is comparable to Andrew Gurr who states in his *The Shakespearean Stage*, "There is a large measure of agreement amongst the many scholars who have studied the Globe plays in detail, that like the Swan the Globe's stage area had a tiring-house façade; a stage extending to the middle of the yard; a large stage-trap, big enough for two men to descend at once; two pillars supporting the heavens; and two stage doors" (131). He further claims, "A look at the Globe repertory tells us the basic requirements of the tiring house façade . . . For some of the scenes, a 'window' above the stage is mentioned in the stage directions or the text, in others players appear 'on the walls' or above the gates of a besieged town . . . In Shakespeare, fourteen references indicate the place simply as 'aloft' or 'above' . . . (*Shakespearean Stage* 134). Eventually Gurr comes to a conclusion that, "since plays were so readily interchangeable between one venue and another, the public amphitheatres must have used a similar model" (*Shakespearean Stage* 134).

In addition to the underlying problems of using stage directions as a reliable spatial code to retrieve the structure of early modern playhouses, this method of historiography – using evidence of varied sources of varied degree of authority – albeit leading theatre historians to a more or less comparable model of early modern theatre, is analogous to what Ingram would have called "the tools of a fiction writer"

("Future" 225) and does not stand up to scrutiny. As Foakes has demonstrated, the most frequently used Swan drawing, "the only known illustration of the interior of an Elizabethan stage" made about 1596, is after all a copy of a lost original and a drawing based on De Witt or Van Buchel's idea and concept of a Roman theatre instead of his visual impression of the Swan playhouse ("Henslowe's Rose" 11-31). The assumption that the playhouses of this period are structurally similar and subsequently the archival and pictorial evidence of one playhouse can be used to reconstruct another is also made problematic after the excavation of the Rose Foundation in 1989.

The Rose excavation confirms that the conventional understanding of "a rectangular thrust platform, located in the south east" is overruled by "an oddly shaped acting area" much more intimate with its audience located in the north west (Rutter x-xi). The excavation unearths two stages. The first is a rather small acting area that only measures 16 1/2 feet deep without a roof since "no evidence was found of stage pillars or posts that would support a 'cover'" (xii). The second stage appears enlarged which measures 6 feet 10 inches in depth and 16 feet in width and a roof was built over the playing area which echoes with the evidence found in *Henslowe's Diary* when he made expenditure more than £108 on building materials in 1592 when the playhouse only aged five years (Rutter xiii). Although "the foundations revealed the dimensions and therefore the potential capacity of the galleries . . . no evidence has survived to ascertain what still must be assumed, that the Rose, like the later Globe and the Fortune, had three stories of galleries" (Rutter xi). To sum up, in Rutter's words, "Looking at this essentially *sui generis* layout it was clear that the Rose was not going to provide the paradigmatic ground plan for mapping, even inferentially, other playhouses, principally the Globe" (xiii).

However, even though the historiography of early modern theatre is often problematised by the hypothesis of a generic model that would cater the requirements of all playhouses in this period as well as by the complicated relationship between play-texts, space and performance as discussed in the Introduction,<sup>10</sup> the conviction that “we can learn something substantial about how they [the Chamberlain’s/King’s Men] might have done it and recover in the process some of the spirit of invention that gave eloquence to the action of Elizabethan theatre” (Nelson 335) appear persistent not only in the historiography of early modern theatre but also in the contemporary editorial procedure of early modern play-texts. It is a theatre history that is mainly London-centred, deeply associated with government regulation, rivalry between the nobles and anti-theatrical Puritanism which achieves its culmination at the golden period of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, whilst provincial touring is often considered as the “last resort” for playing companies when theatres in London were closed during the times of plague (Greenfield, “Touring” 252). Whilst the historians attempt to interweave evidence and spatial codes in the play-texts to reconstruct early modern theatres that meet the requirements of relevant repertoires architecturally, editors appear to reconstruct an early modern stage from a more scenographic angle when they correct, collate, insert and annotate stage directions, providing readers the tools to visualise how the stage action would have been for the early modern audience. Therefore, in the next chapter, I will turn my attention a scenographic reconstruction that is achieved through editorial intervention and the extent to which our understanding of an early modern stage and performance could be shaped by the editorial treatment of play-texts in this period.

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<sup>10</sup> See Introduction 6-16.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Locus, Personnel and Texts**

The result of lacking evidentiary support as well as the scholarly consensus of an interchangeable relationship between text, performance, and venue lead historians to rely heavily on play-texts in the hope of reconstructing a generic model of early modern stage by applying spatial dimension and design implied or embedded in play-texts of this period. Such approaches prioritise a reconstruction that is primarily focused on Shakespeare, his contemporaries and the playhouses associated with the repertoire of his company, and can be similarly observed in the contemporary editorial treatment of early printed play-texts. The premise that early modern texts record performances, as I will subsequently demonstrate, has not only prompted scholarly attempts to reconstruct early modern stages architecturally through decoding the spatial elements in play-texts but also the birth of various modern “performance” editions of Shakespeare’s dramas. The concept of space in the editorial practice – with the help of the established, albeit problematic, architectural reconstruction done by historians such as Hosley and Gurr – becomes primarily a matter of interpreting the spatial elements in play-texts and a scenographic reconstruction of an original performance.

In the first half of this chapter, I will draw attention to how and the extent to which contemporary editors, through editorial intervention in stage directions and detailed annotations to play-texts, reveal their agenda to reconstruct early modern productions scenographically in order to help readers visualise and understand how an Elizabethan stage may look, function and how the meaning of the plays were generated by the author/actor and conveyed to its original audiences. I will focus

on the editorial treatment of stage directions and use Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays as my model texts to demonstrate this kind of editorial reconstruction. There are two main reasons why I have chosen the *Henry VI* plays. First, the play-texts, especially the first and third part of *Henry VI*, appear to be used in performance as early as 1592.<sup>11</sup> Second, the multiple extant texts of the second and third parts of *Henry VI* provide us very different styles of stage directions, long speeches as well as highly physical action and are appropriate to exemplify the issues of editorial theatricalisation.

In the second half of this chapter, I will look into another strand of scholarship which strives to depart from an approach highly dependent on play-texts and promises a theatre history dedicated to unearth all kinds of dramatic records – the *REED* (*Records of Early English Drama*) project. Although the premise of the methodology undertaken by the *REED* scholars appears highly distinctive from the academic approach of theatre historians discussed in Chapter One as well as editors, the goal behind the scholarship appears similarly problematic as they seem to compromise, at least to some extent, with the traditional metropolitan and Shakespeare oriented history of early modern theatre and reconstruction.

## **Part 1. Theatre Reconstruction through Play-texts**

### **Texts, Performance and Editorial Intervention: a Scenographic Reconstruction**

Stage directions in early printed play-texts, as previously discussed in the

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<sup>11</sup> On March 3, 1592. Philip Henslowe recorded in his diary a performance by Strange's Men of a "ne" play "Harey the vj. It was repeated fourteen times by 19 June (Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary* 16). Thomas Nashe, in *Pierce Penniless* entered in the Stationers' Register on 8 August 1592, referred to a "brave Talbot" which appears to allude to *1 Henry VI* in which Talbot plays a significant part. In addition, Robert Greene's infamous reference to Shakespeare whose "tiger's heart wrapp'd in a player's hide" seems to parody a line in *3 Henry VI*: "O, tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide" (Folio 603; 1.4.137). For a detailed discussion of the early productions of *Henry VI* plays, see the introduction to the Oxford independent edition of *1 Henry VI* by Michael Taylor (1-10).



Introduction as well as Chapter One, are often regarded as a secondary element to the spoken dialogue in drama of this period. This is even more conspicuous in the contemporary editorial procedure of Shakespeare's plays. In 1780, Edmond Malone reasons that since "the very few stage directions which the old copies exhibit, were not taken from our author's manuscripts, but furnished by the players," all the stage directions in his edition of Shakespeare's works are "considered as wholly in [his] power" and "regulated" in the "best" manner he could (qtd. Dessen, *Rescripting* 136). McKerrow's scornful label of stage directions as the "accessories" to the dialogue further demonstrates such a point (19). Even though his guiding editorial principles are that the texts of the plays "should be reproduced so far as possible without change" (53), "the normalisation [of such accessories] is allowable" (20). This kind of practice on stage directions is echoed by E. A. J. Honigmann's claim that "we cannot avoid giving a higher authority to the 'implied stage-directions' of the dialogue than to directions printed as such," since "Shakespeare was careless about stage directions" (187). His subsequent declaration that "we have a great opportunity, and a great responsibility: to see the plays, not as editors direct, but as we would wish to direct them ourselves" (187) further reveals the agenda and desire that prompted generations of editors to intervene so as to help readers to understand the staging that is already "suggested" in the play-texts. And although the assumption of the dialogue's superiority over non-verbal text is questioned by scholars such as M. J. Kidnie who argues that "stage directions, regardless of how much they are allowed to inform performance . . . remain an integral part of the dramatic text as written by the author" (461), stage directions in contemporary editions of Shakespeare's plays are often a result of editorial intervention.

Due to this increased awareness of Shakespeare as a working dramatist in the last

three decades of the twentieth century, editorial intervention of stage directions not only becomes a common practice but is regarded as a norm in the practice of editing early modern play-texts. The editors of the Oxford Shakespeare in 1986 declare their attempt to “reproduce the more *theatrical* version of each play” and to print “a text presenting a play as it appeared when performed by the company of which Shakespeare was principal shareholder” (xxxii; my italics). Stanley Wells, as its general editor, explains that since Shakespeare’s plays are written for the stage but have not been “polished” in all their details, editors should be active in revealing “more of the possibilities inherent in the text” (“Editorial Treatment” 16) to help readers “visualise” the text “in a workable form” (“Editorial Treatment” 1).

Examples can be seen in the opening of *3 Henry VI*. Although, in the first sixteen lines of the Folio and Octavo versions, the text remains primarily dialogic apart from the opening stage direction, the contemporary individual Oxford, Cambridge and Arden editions as well as the complete Oxford edition in 1986 insert a direction for Richard to carry a severed head of Somerset.

RICHARD Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.  
*He throws down the Duke of Somerset’s head.* (Oxford 1.1.16)

RICHARD Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did.  
*[Throwing down the Duke of Somerset’s head]* (Cambridge 1.1.16)

RICHARD *[Shows the head of Somerset]*  
 Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did. (Arden 1.1.16)

RICHARD *(To Somerset’s head, which he shows)*  
 Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did. (Complete Oxford 1.1.16)

Plantagenet’s reply that follows explains the reason for this insertion, because

neither the Folio nor Octavo indicates whom Richard refers to as “thou” (Folio 21) until his father Plantagenet addresses the dead Somerset:

PLANTAGENET. Richard hath best deseru'd of all my sonnes:  
But is your Grace dead, my Lord of Somerset?  
(Folio 22-23; Oxford, Cambridge, Arden 1.1.17-19)

This obscure dialogue, albeit implying the presence of the deceased Somerset, does not specify whether a severed head, a corpse or any other representative of Somerset is addressed to by Richard and his father, To enable readers to visualise this perhaps delayed and ambiguous revelation in the Folio, all four modern editions have the direction of Richard “throwing” or “showing” Somerset’s head at line 21 and both Oxford and Cambridge editions further indicate “Richard carrying/ bearing a severed head” in the opening stage direction:

Alarum. Enter Plantagenet, Edward, Richard,  
Norfolke, Mount-ague, Warwicke, and Souldiers  
(Folio 1-2)

Enter Richard Duke of Yorke, The Earle of Warwick,  
The Duke of Norfolke, Marquis Montague,  
Edward, Earle of March, Crookeback Richard  
and yong Earle of Rutland, with Drumme and Souldiers,  
with white Roses in their hats.  
(Octavo 1-5)

Alarum. Enter Richard Plantagenet Duke of York,  
Edward Earl of March, *Richard carrying a severed  
head*, the Duke of Norfolk, Montague, Warwick, and  
Soldiers. *A chair of state*  
(Oxford 1.1.0.1-4; my italics)

[*A chair of state.*] Alarum. Enter [RICHARD] PLANTAGENET,  
[DUKE OF YORK], EDWARD, [EARL OF MARCH], [CROOK-BACK]  
RICHARD [*bearing a severed head*], [the EARL OF RUTLAND], [the DUKE OF]  
NORFOLK, [the MARQUESS OF] MONTAGUE, [and the EARL OF] WAR-  
WICK, [with DRUM] and Soldiers [with white roses in their hats]  
(Cambridge 1.1.0.1-5; my italics)

*A chair of state.* Alarum. Enter Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, his two sons Edward, Earl of March, and crookback Richard, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Montague, and the Earl of Warwick, [with drummers] and soldiers. [They all wear white roses in their hats]

(Complete Oxford 1.1.0.1-6)

Alarum. Enter [Richard] Plantagenet[, the Duke of York], EDWARD, RICHARD, NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, WARWICK [,with white roses in their hats,] and Soldiers.

(Arden 1.1.0.1-3)

In addition, in the same stage direction, apart from the Arden editor, the other three of them include “a chair of state” which is not mentioned in the Folio until Warwick’s reference to it as “the regall seat” at line 31 and King Henry’s indication at line 59. Although this detail is omitted in the first stage direction in the Arden edition, it is later conflated with the Folio direction at line 38 as “They go up to the chair of state” (Arden 1.1.32.1). Apart from their common goal to enable readers to picture the staging, what is understated is their attempt to create a readable spectacle through editorial stage directions that are both symbolic and theatrical, and applicable to early modern practicality. As the inserted “chair of state” is not only “one of the play’s central properties” (Martin 149), but also “emblematic of royal authority” (Martin 149), where York “must go up, because he is later on the throne” (Cox and Rasmussen 188) and his allies may “join him as the platform can hold and decorum permits” (Cox and Rasmussen 188).

As a result, stage directions in modern editions of Shakespeare’s plays are rarely directly adopted from their copy texts; instead, they are usually editorial, conjectural, conflated with or provided by a collateral text. To summarise, directions are inserted to help readers picture Elizabethan staging, understand early modern theatrical conventions, visualise the actions implicit in the dialogue, and to correct

and compensate for the sketchy, incomplete details provided by the base texts so as to assist readers to appreciate his plays as a performable, readable whole.

As editors take the role of an interventionist or, in Dessen's words, a "re-scripter" (136) to help readers imagine a play's original staging, they are often accused of turning diversity into singularity by smoothing out irregularity and the messy complexity of the existent early texts (Cloud 421), and, moreover, imposing meaning and authorial intention on plays with debatable textual authenticity (Maguire 147). Although I am highly sceptical of contemporary editorial practices, I am aware of the difficulties and necessity of this kind of procedure in preparing a modern edition of early modern drama, for I, too, in order to provide a consistent style of typography in my thesis, make a similar attempt to rearrange the typographical orders of the examples I have chosen from varied modern editions of play-texts. It is important to point out that I have no intention of finding a possible solution for the current editorial procedure that can lead us closer to the original or to a total abandonment of the editorial practice and return to the early printed texts. There seems to me no answer to an editorial treatment that will lead us to a best, authentic Shakespeare. As Gary Taylor points out, in the general introduction to *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*, there is no un-mediated Shakespeare, and even the existent early texts will deny us the access to a "privileged original" (3-7), because changes and mistakes could be easily made by scribes, prompters, Folio editors or compositors. What entices me is the degree to which modern "scholarly" and "performance" editions can influence readers differently in vision, sound and meaning, and the extent to which editorial interventions in the modern editions are dependent on the assumption of an "interpretative" model of theatricality. By examining the latest Oxford, Arden and Cambridge editions of the *Henry VI* plays, I

will illustrate the degree to which editors attempt to reconstruct the original performances of these play-texts through their annotated and editorial stage directions, how their approach is analogous to the kind of historiography discussed in Chapter One and becomes problematic when their editorial choices influence readers distinctively in reading the play and constructing a particular version of implied stage conventions and settings.

### **Text, stage and 2 Henry VI**

*2 Henry VI* exists in two principal early printed texts. It first appeared in a Quarto edition in 1594 under the title *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous House of York and Lancaster*. After nearly three decades, the play was collected in the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays in 1623 as *The second Part of Henry the Sixt with the death of the Good Duke Hvmphrey*. The Quarto text (2234 lines) appears a third shorter than the Folio version (3355 lines). The brevity of the Quarto is roughly due to "the absence of short passages that involve figurative expressions or extended comparisons," such as the recurrent motif of treachery of snakes and serpents throughout the Folio, e.g. line 1530-2; line 1747; line 1776; line 1971-8 (Warren 75). There are several longer passages in the Folio that are absent in the Quarto, such as the first half of York's soliloquy at line 226-47, King Henry's lament of his inability to help Duke Humphrey at line 1500-21 and Margaret's long speech after the discovery of Duke Humphrey's death from line 1787. Although the story line and materials in the Folio and Quarto texts are roughly correspondent, there are merely a few identical passages. In the Cambridge 1991 edition, Arden 1999 edition, and Oxford 2003 edition, editors invariably choose the Folio as their base text as they believe that the manuscript behind the Folio is most plausibly Shakespeare's while the Quarto version represents a pirated (Alexander 115) or

shortened touring version reconstructed by the actors (Doran 76). Since it is generally accepted that the Quarto derives from or reports an Elizabethan performance (Warren 100; Knowles 140; Hattaway, *2 Henry VI* 70-71), its stage directions are often incorporated into these modern editions to “supplement the rather meagre information given in the Folio ones” (Warren 100) and to “amplify what is unspecific in what Shakespeare probably set down in his ‘study’” (Hattaway, *2 Henry VI* 71).

The editorial principles these three editions adopt, as stated in their introduction to the play, more or less correspond with the current trend of editorial practice (Warren 101-2; Knowles 139; Hattaway 70-1). When stage directions in the Folio appear incomplete, faulty or simply absent – such as where they are necessary for a character’s entrance and exit – editors correct, collate and insert directions with the aid of the Quarto. When both the Folio and Quarto fail to provide satisfactory directions, editors add information according to the implication of the dialogue where they consider best fit and dramatically effective. For example, in the beginning of Act 4, Folio’s stage direction is simple and ambivalent,

Alarum. Fight at Sea. Ordnance goes off.  
Enter Lieutenant, Suffolke, and others.  
(Folio 2618-9)

In comparison, Quarto’s stage direction here appears more detailed,

Alarmes within, and the chambers be discharged, like as it  
were a fight at sea. And then enter the Captaine of the ship  
and the Maister, and the Maisters Mate, & the Duke of Suf-  
folke disguised, and others with him, and the Water Whick-  
more.  
(Quarto 1440-1444)

The Oxford edition adopts mainly the Quarto’s direction with the alteration of the

order of entrance and the additional emphases of the status of the disguised Suffolk and others as prisoners,

Alarums within, and the chambers be discharged like as it were a fight at sea. And then enter the Lieutenant, the Master, the Master's Mate, Walter Whitmore, [and others]. With them, as their prisoners, the Duke of Suffolk, disguised, and two gentlemen (Oxford 4.1.0.1-5)

The Arden and Cambridge editions' directions here are conflation of the actions in the Folio and the entrance of characters in the Quarto with the similar intervention as the Oxford edition on the order of appearance and the emphasis of Suffolk and others as prisoners,

Alarum. Fight at sea. Ordnance goes off. Enter Lieutenant, Suffolk [disguised, a prisoner, the Master and Master's Mate, and Walter Whitmore, with two gentlemen as prisoners] and others. (Arden 4.1.0.1-4)

Alarum. Fight at sea. Ordnance goes off. Enter [a] LIEUTENANT[, a MASTER, a MASTER'S MATE. WALTER WHITMORE, and SOLDIERS ; with] SUFFOLK, [disguised, and two gentlemen, prisoners] (Cambridge 4.1.0.1-3)

All three modern editions, in order to compensate the meagre materials provided by the Folio, either replace the Folio stage direction with the Quarto's one or conflate them. More importantly, all three editions elaborate the status of Suffolk and those with him as prisoners – a detail that was absent in both Folio and Quarto.

Although the editorial guideline in the three chosen editions resembles one another and does not appear to differ much from one another in the example above, their editorial choices are not only tendentious but also in many other cases lead to different presentations of the play in terms of actions and staging. Such divergence, as I will subsequently demonstrate, is mainly a result of editors' disagreement on the interpretation of the text and theatricality.



Act 3 Scene 2, in my opinion, can best demonstrate such differences, as, in this rather complicated scene, many characters are required for multiple entrances and exits, various stage props are used and commotions take place both on and off stage. The meagre details of the Folio result in major intervention in this four-hundred-line duration. Only five out of twenty-nine directions remain intact from the Folio in the Oxford and Arden edition, and six out of twenty-eight in the Cambridge edition; only two of the total stage directions in this scene are directly from the Quarto in all three editions while the rest are only used to compensate or correct the directions in the Folio.

--- *On Entrances and Exits*

Some of the changes are considered as “necessary” corrections, but even though all three editors’ emendations more or less show consensus, their reasoning and comment can sometimes lead to rather distinct emphases and understanding of theatricalness. Act 3 Scene 2 opens with the murder of Duke Humphrey and Suffolk’s confirmation of Humphrey’s death with the murderers. In the Folio, since Suffolk has already made his entrance at line 1695, its direction appears redundant as it includes Suffolk to enter with the King and other characters again at line 1706.

Enter two or three running ouer the Stage, from the Murther of Duke Humfrey	(Folio 1690-1)
...	
Enter Suffolke	(Folio 1695)
...	
Exeunt Sound Trumpets. Enter the King, the Queene, Cardinall, Suffolke, Somerset, with Attendants	(Folio 1705-8)

The Quarto’s direction is completely different from Folio as it stages the murder of

Duke Humphrey;

Then the Curtaines being drawne, Duke Humphrey is discovered  
in his bed, and two men lying on his brest and smothering him  
in his bed. And then enter the Duke of Suffolk to them.

(Quarto 1107-9)

...

Exet murtherers.

Then enter the King and Queen, the Duke of Buckingham,  
and the Duke of Sommerset and the Cardinall.

(Quarto 1117-1119)

All three modern editions adopt Folio's direction but erase Suffolk from his second entrance in the Folio and follow Quarto's direction which "specifies the murderers leave" while "Suffolk remains, to be addressed by the King as he enters" (Warren 200). However, as Warren comments in the Oxford edition, "it is just possible that [Folio] is correct, and that Suffolk leaves with the murderers (line 1705) and then slips on again during the court's general entry, in order to dissociate himself from any involvement with the dead body that he is about to 'discover'" (200). While the Oxford edition recognises that the Folio's direction may not be a mistake, the Arden editor firmly states that the Folio's direction here "must be an error" and does not make sense dramatically as Suffolk "has been left onstage by the murderers and is shortly to leave, following the King's command" (256). Interestingly, if readers pay no attention to the collation line and the editors' notes, they probably will not notice this shift, for an erased character cannot be "bracketed." A careful reader, conversely, will realise the changes, but may also ignore the possibility that Folio's direction could be correct depending on which edition he is reading. As a result, when editors' interpretations of theatricality conflict with one another, the plausible options of staging they provide appear different or even contradictory.

Another correction of stage direction in this scene is on Salisbury's entry and exit.

In the Folio, Salisbury only appears in one stage direction (line 1952) that brings him on stage just before his speech at line 1953-1981. However, even though he does not speak until line 1953, Salisbury is required much earlier on stage as he has already been addressed by his son Warwick:

Stay Salisbury  
With the rude multitude, till I return.  
(Folio 1836-7)

Since the Folio provides no stage direction for Salisbury to enter before Warwick speaks to him, all three editors conflate the Quarto's directions with the Folio's by joining Salisbury with Warwick and the commons to enter after Queen Margaret's torrents of self-pity (3.2.121). However, what complicates the staging here is the issue of whether Salisbury and the commons exit after or with Warwick or if they retreat from the stage at all after this entrance. The Quarto provides an exit for Salisbury after Warwick's bidding while the Folio only provides the lines, "Stay Salisbury / With the rude multitude, till I [Warwick] return" (lines 1836-7), which only indicates Warwick's departure and that Salisbury should accompany the commons. As Hattaway has acknowledged, it is still not clear if Salisbury and the commons leave at this point as "they can simply retire to another part of the stage" and exit after King Henry's bidding to Salisbury, "Go Salisbury, and tell them all from me . . ." (3.2.283-292). Eventually, the editors invariably collate with the Quarto text and let Warwick, Salisbury and the commons withdraw from the stage at the same point:

WARWICK. Stay Salisbury  
With the rude multitude, till I return.  
  
[Exeunt Warwick, then Salisbury, with the commons]  
(Cambridge; 3.2.135.1)  
  
[Exeunt severally Warwick, and Salisbury with the commons]  
(Arden; 3.2.135.1)  
  
[Exeunt Warwick at one door, Salisbury and commons at another]

However, even though these directions resemble one another in terms of materials and timing, they vary in whether the characters depart one after another, at different doors or both. The diversity here is perhaps trivial, but these editorial directions notwithstanding present visual differences.

In the same scene, the Cardinal and Somerset's exit cues are also absent in the Folio. The two characters enter with King Henry at line 1706 and have only one speech each (lines 1727-8; 1732):

*Sound Trumpets. Enter the King, the Queene,  
Cardinall, Suffolke, Somerset, with  
Attendants*

(Folio 1706-9)

CARDINAL. Gods secret Iudgement: I did dreame to Night,  
The Duke was dumbe, and could not speake a word.  
(Folio 1727-8)

SOMERSET. Rere vp his Body, wring him by the Nose.  
(Folio 1732)

The Quarto only provides an exit for the Cardinal in the midst of the argument between Warwick and Suffolk (line 1284) but none for Somerset. As the Cardinal and Somerset could not possibly stay until the end with Suffolk and Queen Margaret who should be left alone to bid each other farewell, all three editors assign the Cardinal and Somerset to exit earlier but at different timing. In the Cambridge edition, Hattaway adopts the Quarto's direction (line 1284) and lets Somerset depart with the Cardinal at this point:

SUFFOLK. Say, if thou dar'st, proud Lord of Warwickshire,  
That I am faulty in Duke Humphrey's death.  
[Exeunt Cardinal, Somerset and others]  
(Cambridge 3.2.201-202)

WARWICK. But both of you were vowed Duke Humphrey's foes,  
*(To Cardinal Beaufort)*  
 And you, forsooth, had the good Duke to keep.  
 'Tis like you would not feast him like a friend;  
 And 'tis well seen he found an enemy.  
*[Exit Cardinal Beaufort assisted by Somerset]*  
*(Oxford 3.2.182-5)*

QUEEN. Are you butcher, Suffolk? Where's your knife?  
Is Beaufort termed a kite? Where are his talons?  
(Oxford 3.2.195-6)

*Exeunt King Henry and Warwick with attendants*  
*[who remove the bed and draw the curtains as they leave]*  
 QUEEN. Mischance and sorrow go along with you!  
 Heart's discontent and sour affliction  
 Be playfellows to keep you company!  
 There's two of you, the devil make a third,  
 (Oxford 3.2.303.1-307)

Conversely, in the Arden edition, although Knowles also put into consideration the Cardinal's emotional status, the possible "feelings of guilt and rage" he may have during his stage presence (268), Knowles places the Cardinal and Somerset's exit after Queen Margaret's speech where Warren has rejected:

QUEEN. Are you the butcher, Suffolk? Where's your knife?  
 Is Beaufort termed a kite? Where are his talons?  
*[The bed is withdrawn]*  
*[Exeunt Cardinal, Somerset and others.]*  
 (Arden 3.2.195-6)

According to Knowles' explanation, "Warwick's indirect accusations against Suffolk and the Cardinal culminate at [line] 196 in response to the Queen's direct challenge [at line 195-6]" and, thus, provides an "appropriate" opportunity for the Cardinal, Somerset and those not engaged in the following arguments to leave (268). The Cardinal's exit in the Oxford and Arden editions, therefore, becomes not merely a matter of theatrical necessity but a key moment that reveals his psychological and physical status. Eventually, the exit for Somerset and the Cardinal is recorded in completely different places in all three editions, and such a difference, as individually explained in their commentary, appears to be a result of the disagreement among the editors' interpretations of the text and their opinions on dramatic effectiveness. Although they often reach a broad consensus on where and when to intervene and correct directions, the outcomes of their presentations conflict with one another on a rather regular basis and, moreover, sometimes deny the possibility of a different presentation that appears in another edition. In short, editorial intervention, in this

case, does not only compensate the inadequacies of the early modern editions, but emphasises particular moments that are physical as well as interpretable. However, subject to editors' different understanding of the play, such moments seldom accord with one another.

--- *Bed, Curtains and Theatricality*

As discussed above, when editors conflict with one another in their analyses of the text, their editorial choices end up at odds. A similar situation happens with the layout of the discovery of Duke Humphrey's death. However, editors' decisions regarding intervention here depend not only on their understanding of the text, but their understanding of how an early modern stage would function on stage as well as off stage. As a result, the editorial intervention in this scene is not simply a correction and conflation of the two early modern versions of the play but also an attempt to reconstruct an early modern production scenographically.

In the Folio, Warwick is sent to "view his [Duke Humphrey's] breathless corpse / And comment then upon his sudden death" (lines 1834-5), but the stage directions for his exit and re-entrance appear to be missing, and the demonstration of Duke Humphrey's body only appears in one simple direction, "bed put forth" (line 1849), placed in the midst of King Henry's lament.

KING HENRY. That he is dead good Warwick, 'tis too true,  
But how he dyed, God knowes, not *Henry*:  
Enter his Chamber, view his breathlesse Corpes,  
And comment then vpon his sodaine death.

WARWICK. That shall I do my Liege; Stay Salsburie  
With the rude multitude, till I returne.

KING HENRY. O thou that iudgeth all things, stay my thoghts:  
My thoughts, that labour to perswade my soule,  
Some violent hands were laid on *Humfries* life:

. . .

And with my fingers feele his hand, vnfeeling:  
But all in vaine are these meane Obsequies,

*Bed put forth*

And to suruey his dead and earthy Image:  
What were it but to make my sorrow greater?  
WARWICK. Come hither gracious Soueraigne, view this  
body.

(Folio 1832-1853)

In the Quarto's stage direction, Warwick does not re-enter the stage as he does not exit in the first place but goes directly to "draw the curtains and show Duke Humphrey in his bed" (lines 1246-7).

WARWICK. Enter his priuie chamber my Lord and view the bodie.  
Good father staie you with the rude multitude, till I returne.  
SALISBURY. I will sonne. *Exet Salbury.*  
*Warwicke drawes the curtaines and showes Duke*  
*Humphrey in his bed.*

(Quarto 1243-1247)

All three editors invariably adopt the stage direction from both the Folio and the Quarto but the staging of when and how this sequence of action takes place appear distinctively discordant in each edition. In terms of timing for the direction "*bed put forth*," the Oxford and Cambridge editors follow the Folio's direction while the Arden editor places it two lines later. All three editors insert a direction on Warwick's exit and re-entry and his drawing of the curtain. However, it is not clear in the Folio if Warwick should enter with the bed or just before his first utterance after his re-entrance. In the Oxford edition, Warwick enters and draws the curtains and the bed is put forth in the midst of the King's lament:

KING HENRY. And with my fingers feel his hand unfeeling.  
But all in vain are these mean obsequies,  
[Enter Warwick who draws apart the curtains and  
shows Duke Humphrey dead in his bed.] *Bed put forth*  
And to suruey his dead and earthy image,  
What were it but to make my sorrow greater?  
(Oxford 3.2.145-8)



Warren explains that he conflates the Folio and Quarto's directions because they "complement" each other, as shown by McKerrow: "the curtains of an upstage entrance 'are drawn, discovering Gloucester dead in his bed . . . the bed is then pushed out on to the main stage, as was normally done in such scenes where it was *necessary* for several persons to gather round" (qtd. Warren 208; my italics). However, what appears necessary to Warren does not have the similar appeal to the other two editors. In the other two editions, these actions are split into two different stage directions and the bed is pushed out before the removal of the curtains. The Cambridge editor place direction "bed put forth" according to the Folio, but Warwick enters and reveals the Duke's corpse at the end of the King's lament:

KING HENRY. And with my fingers feel his hand unfeeling.  
                     But all in vain are these mean obsequies,  
                     *Bed put forth*  
 And to survey his dead and earthy image,  
 What were it but to make my sorrow greater?  
                     *[Warwick enters and draws the curtains, and shows Duke*  
                     *Humphrey in his bed]*  
(Cambridge 3.2.145-8)

According to Hattaway, "two lines would not be sufficient to place the bed in position" (52). Therefore, even if the Folio's direction may mean that the bed is to be "thrust out," it would be more dramatically effective and sensible if the bed is prepared in the discovery place waiting for Warwick to draw the curtains and reveal it, for such arrangement could create "a tableau which *ironically fulfilled the forebodings* Henry expresses in the next two lines" (152; my italics), an assumed corroborative of the visual as well as the literary. Similarly, in the Arden edition, Knowles reasons that by placing the action "bed put forth" before "Warwick draws the curtains," the dramatic relationship between the verbal and the visual is improved, "as the audience's experience is made to parallel that of Henry and the

others on stage, from to survey to seeing him" (265). However, the entire sequence of action is slightly postponed as the direction "bed put forth" appears two lines later than it is in the Folio and Warwick does not draw the curtain until after he speaks:

KING HENRY. And to survey his dead and earthy image,  
What were it but to make my sorrow greater?  
*Bed put forth. [Enter Warwick]*  
WARWICK. Come hither, gracious sovereign, view this body.  
*[Draws the curtains, and shows Gloucester in his bed.]*  
(Arden 3.2.147-9)

Eventually, the movement of the bed and curtain and Warwick's entry becomes three distinct permutations: Warwick's entrance is varied and accompanied by different actions and Duke Humphrey's corpse is discovered at three separate points in three different editions (Warren 3.2.146; Hattaway 3.2.148; Knowles 3.2.149).

Interestingly, what determines their editorial choices here is not only their interpretation of the text and their opinions of dramatic effectiveness but also their imagining of possible off stage preparation in early modern theatre. As both Hattaway and Knowles place the direction "bed put forth" prior to "draws the curtains," they are not simply helping the readers to visualise the onstage settings but also to imagine the "backstage" arrangement of the bed which will not be uncovered until the curtains are drawn. Even though the chronological order of Warren's direction differs from the other two, he too shows his concern with the usage of an "upstage entrance" or a "discovery place" when explaining his editorial decision (208).

The editorial interventions of these scholars, to summarise, are highly dependent on their understanding of the function and usage of an early modern stage, their

interpretation of the dialogue, their opinions about dramatic effectiveness and editors' imagining of the on stage and off stage movement of an early modern production . And since their analysis of the play and their concepts of a most powerful performance do not always show consensus, even though their common attempt is to present the most performable text, they easily end up presenting rather distinct images and subsequently reconstructing distinct versions of early modern theatre production.

### **Textual Authority and Monarchical Authority**

Although the divergence of images produced by different editorial choices may appear trivial and inconsequential, editorial intervention can influence readers on a larger scale in terms of their understanding of the play. As editors conflate, correct and insert directions, they not only attempt to help readers see the play's potential staging requirements by revealing its "physical" semiotics, but also direct readers to decipher them by annotating directions which eventually become the extension of the narratives. Since they seldom agree with one another in their analyses of the text and opinions of theatricality, their annotated stage directions, too, lead readers to different emphases and interpretations.

One of the major themes in *2 Henry VI* concerns the King's unstable authority. From the people's revolt led by Jack Cade to the growing force of the Yorkists, King Henry's monarchy is threatened throughout the play and such developments foreshadow his downfall and twice deposition in *3 Henry VI*. However, it is questionable whether King Henry's gradually diminished authority is also encoded and signalled in the non-spoken text.

According to Dessen and Thomson, when an important or royal figure enters and exits, a music signal (i.e. flourish, sound a sennet or trumpets) is usually sounded in order to alert the on and off stage audience of his presence and departure (94, 191, 237-8). In 2 *Henry VI*, King Henry has eleven pairs of entrance and exit in total. However, only six entries and four exits are accompanied by such musical cues in the Folio and none in the Quarto. Interestingly, such inconsistencies in the musical directions can be viewed as an important signal representing King Henry's unstable authority depending on which edition you are reading.

The play begins with the King's reception of Queen Margaret and the court's commotions aroused by the degrading nuptial contract and Margaret's lack of a dowry. In the Folio, although the King's opening entry in the play is accompanied by "Flourish of trumpets," his subsequent exit is not:

*Exit King, Queene, and Suffolke.*  
*Manet the rest.*

(Folio 80-81)

Both the Cambridge and Arden editors maintain the Folio's direction here. According to Hattaway, such absence is "significant" as this reveals Henry's lack of true authority and the humiliation brought by the terms in his marriage contract with Margaret (83). Similar absence of flourish occurs again in Act 3 Scene 1 as the King departs in rage after his speech defending Duke Humphrey against the large majority of the court:

KING HENRY. His fortunes I will weepe, and 'twixt each groane,  
Say, who's a Traytor? Gloster he is none. *Exit.*  
(Folio 1522-1523)

Hattaway again points out the significance of this “silent” exit as a sign of Henry’s unstable royalty. In Act 3 Scene 2, when the King leaves unaccompanied by a flourish after the discovery of the murder of Duke Humphrey, Hattaway further comments on this absence as “an index of his loss of authority” (157):

KING HENRY. Come Warwicke, come good Warwicke, goe with mee,  
I haue great matters to impart to thee. *Exit.*  
(Folio 2012-2013)

Knowles and Hattaway mostly maintain the absence and presence of such musical signals in accordance with the Folio’s directions. Even though their editorial treatments here correspond with each other, Knowles’ comment appears comparatively reserved, as he questions, “Does absence of a Flourish indicate Henry’s loss of authority, or like the omission of removing or curtaining the bed, an oversight” (274)?

Warren’s treatment of the royal flourish in the Oxford edition, however, appears distinct from the other two. For example, he inserts “Flourish” un-bracketed in King Henry’s first departure in Act 1 scene 1:

KING HENRY. We thanke you all for this great fauour done,  
In entertainment to my Princely Queene.  
Come, let vs in, and with all speede prouide  
To see her Coronation be perform'd.

Flourish. *Exeunt King Henry, Queen Margaret, and Suffolk.*  
*Duke Humphrey stays all the rest.*  
(Oxford 1.1.70-73.2; my underline)

He argues that “as far as the King is concerned, the terms ‘please us well,’ and the trumpeters’ job is to mark his exit” (116). In Act 3 Scene 1, although Warren follows the Folio’s stage direction and has the King depart without the customary flourish, his comment on this silent exit, unlike the other two editions, has not the

slightest hint on the monarch's unstable authority. Instead, he claims that the absence of a musical cue here is significant because it emphasises "an unscheduled departure that disrupts the ceremony of the scene" (190). In addition, in Act 4 scene 9, even though Warren maintains Folio's direction of King Henry's entry with the musical cue "Sound trumpets" (4.9.0.1), he brackets the "Flourish" (49) that accompanies King Henry's subsequent exit, and explains, "It is awkward that these lines must be belted out from the balcony, to be followed by a flourish of trumpets . . . they are surely very personal and intimate" (264):

KING HENRY. Come wife, let's in, and learn to govern better,  
For yet may England curse my wretched reign.  
[ Flourish ] Exeunt.  
(Oxford 4.9.48-49.1; my underline)

Although Warren inserts merely two main changes here and the other two editors none, their commentaries to these directions become a transition of editorial intervention to stage hermeneutics. Eventually, the importance of the absence or additional flourishes/sennet/trumpets is emphasised distinctly in all three editions; however, it is debatable whether the “omissions” or “redundancies” in *2 Henry VI* hold such significance.

To begin with, examples of this kind of absence are not exceptions in the Folio edition of the *Henry VI* plays. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, the entrance of the Duke of Florence in Act 3 scene 3 is accompanied by the cue of “flourish” (Folio 1539) while his exit (Folio 1544) is not. In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Prince of Morocco’s first entrance and exit are cued with a musical signal but not at his second entry and exit. The Prince of Aragon’s entrance is also signalled by “Flor. Cornets” (Folio 1136) but his exit is neither cued nor sounded. Perhaps such omissions in the

two comedies could not be similarly interpreted as the Duke and the two princes' lack of authority as this is never really an issue in the plays, and this kind of aural cues is more significant in the history plays as there are more noble figures and the authority of the monarchs is always one of the main concerns. It appears to me that the musical directions for the monarchic entry and exit are generally inconsistent.

For instance, in *Henry V*, King Henry's entry at line 143 is not signalled by music while his subsequent exit at line 461 is signalled. Similar omission also occurs in the final act at the entrance of the King and Queen of France as well as King Henry. In *Richard II*, before the deposition scene, Richard has six pairs of entrances and exits but only three entries and three exits are accompanied by a royal flourish. Interestingly, the sound of a flourish is more often omitted in the first half of his entrance/exit, but more consistently cued as he steps closer to his deposition in Act 4. Therefore, if such irregularity and absence of a royal musical cue is common among Shakespeare's comedies as well as his history plays, similar omissions in the *Henry VI* plays do not necessarily hold the significance of indicating the King's loss of authority.

Looking at stage directions in early modern play-texts, as John Jowett has noted, "consistency is the exception, not the rule" (149). In order to present to the readers a coherent and readable text, all three editors invariably attempt to gloss over the irregularity of the Folio by inserting directions and assigning, at least in their opinion, suitable meanings to the dialogue as well as the non-spoken text. Although their starting point is the same, their editorial directions and commentary of the play eventually lead readers to rather distinct emphases in terms of sounds,

vision as well as interpretations.

Even though most of the additional stage directions in the three editions are “bracketed” and, thus, readers should be aware of the fact that there can be more options than suggested, their bulky presences on page with rather forcefully phrased annotation sometimes deny the possibility of an alternative way of staging. As Kidnie points out, “once the editor’s assumptions about performance are encoded into the script, it becomes difficult to historicise this intervention for the reader as a matter of debate and contested interpretation” (468). Editorial practices on stage directions, in short, are highly dependent on the editors’ interpretations of the text and theatricalness. They are set out to help readers visualise Shakespeare’s plays in a most workable and coherent form by reinforcing the narrative and, most of all, as they were originally performed by Shakespeare’s company under the assumption that the play-text and its production are inter-transformable and the originally staged versions, if different from their manuscripts, were still under the author’s supervision.

However, obstacles arise not only when editors encounter different versions of early play-texts with different degree of authority. What further complicates the matter is the definition of an “authorial” and “authentic” play-text. As Bentley points out, the creation of a play was, at least to some degree, “a collaborative process with the author by no means at the centre of the collaboration” (qtd. Orgel, *Authentic Shakespeare* 1). Even if Shakespeare was the shareholder, playwright and actor of his company, according to Orgel, Shakespeare perhaps was “simply in on more parts of the collaboration” (2) but not an exception. From authorial manuscripts, productions to print, a play would have gone through different hands and



transformations without necessarily the author's approval. As Bentley and Orgel point out, "the text belonged to the company, and the authority represented by the [performing] text . . . is that of the company, the owners, not that of the playwright, the author" (Orgel, *Authentic Shakespeare* 1-2).

Under such kinds of premises, the idea of an authorial play-text becomes further problematised as a play's manuscript, the "original" production and early printed editions appear to represent fundamentally different things and could by no means exist in interchangeable forms. With hardly any survival of authorial manuscripts, visual and audio records of early modern productions and the means to identify exactly the source of these early modern printed play-texts, the editors' attempt to reconstruct an original experience of a production and represent an original play/text seems rather untenable.

Moreover, the concept of an "original" early modern production is equally problematic if we take into account that the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries were not only restricted in London and not always owned and performed by the same group of actors in Shakespeare's time. For example, if we could equally consider the private performance of *Titus Andronicus* in Rutland (Bate 71) as an "original" early modern production as we would to the productions of the same play at Newington Butts and the Rose Theatre, it becomes questionable which of the "original" do we attempt to reconstruct through the play-text. In addition, as recorded in Henslowe's diary, the play was performed by the Admiral's Men instead of Shakespeare's Chamberlain's Men during the amalgamation of the Admiral's and Chamberlain's Men (Bate 71). The play's ownership is further complicated as the title page of the 1594 edition claimed that the play was also

“played by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex” (Bate 76) while Shakespeare’s relationship with these companies remains unclear. The play was only associated with the Chamberlain’s Men until the title page of the 1600 edition attributed the play to Shakespeare’s playing company as well as to Derby’s Men, Pembroke’s Men and Sussex’s Men. Under such premises, it seems difficult to decipher which production could claim to be authorial when touring has been proved a long tradition instead of merely the last resort of playing companies during plague in London (Greenfield, “Touring” 252), and play-texts could have travelled between companies. Moreover, this kind of reconstruction becomes further problematised if we consider Erne’s argument – seeing Shakespeare as a “literary dramatist” who intends his plays to be read as well as performed.<sup>12</sup>

The idea that play-texts of Shakespeare’s plays only hold “a provisional state in the circulation of matter” (de Grazia and Stallybrass 280) questions the role modern editors have taken “in presuming to know better than the author” (Foakes, “Performance Theory” 48). Such criticism against contemporary editorial practice leads to an ongoing discussion of “unediting,”<sup>13</sup> and prompts new editions that celebrate the indeterminacy of play-texts available to us, including the Norton Shakespeare which provides three texts of *King Lear* in their one-volume edition, as well as the third series of Arden Shakespeare, which in addition to offering an edited and annotated text of the 1604-5 second Quarto of the printed version of *Hamlet*, also provide a second volume, *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623*. However, as

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<sup>12</sup> See Introduction p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> The discussion of unediting is perhaps best captured by Leah S. Marcus’ *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton*. Similar discussion can also be seen in Alan Dessen’s *Rescripting Shakespeare: The Text, The Director, and Modern Productions*.

Foakes points out, apart from these rare exceptions, “other editions proceed as usual, offering modernised texts ‘newly edited from the original quarto and folio editions’ with commentaries and introductions that ‘focus on the conditions and possibilities of meaning that editors, critics and performers (on stage and screen) have discovered in the play’” (“Performance theory” 49; Proudfoot, Thompson and Kastan xii).

Even though Knowles, in the introduction of his edition of *2 Henry VI*, acknowledges the “labyrinthine question of date, sequence and authorship” (119) of the *Henry VI* trilogy and provides the long controversial history of the plays, their editions and ownership, he emphasises that “If Shakespeare was not sole author, this does not mean that we have to exclude the possibility that his contribution, plus subsequent revision, eventually provided *the overall shaping spirit*, in spite of competing authors, dividing companies, opportunistic publishers and the plague” (119-120; my italics). It is an assumption that even if Shakespeare did not complete the plays on his own, his genius supervised and guided the plays to their final completion. When modern editors intervene, they not only correct mistakes and reveal the physical semiotics in the play-text, but create authorial intention to justify their intervention. As a result, such kinds of reconstruction are bound to be tendentious and highly conjectural. Because of the divergence between editors’ interpretations of the texts and their history, the editorial practices continuously generate numerous kinds of “best” and “performable” Shakespeares which, ironically, are often contradictory to one another and, by no means, provide readers access to a privileged original, whatever that may be.

In short, theatre reconstruction in either contemporary historical or editorial practice

appears to rely heavily on play-texts. This kind of scholarly approach that decodes the spatial elements within a play-text to estimate the dimensions and design of the stage architecturally and scenographically is subsequently problematised by the hypothesis of an interchangeable space-text-performance rapport. It is, therefore, important here to also look at another strand of academic practice which strives to compose a theatre history without the dependency on play-texts but is instead devoting to uncovering all kinds of dramatic records – the *REED (Records of Early English Drama)* project.

## **Part 2: Theatre Reconstruction without Plays: Reading *REED***

While editors and historians continue to recover authorial intentions and reconstruct different models of early modern stages through interpreting play-texts, another strand of scholarship tackles this issue from a completely different perspective. This new strand of scholarship is dedicated to the study and unearthing of all kinds of dramatic records instead of play-texts. According to one of its main prompters, David Galloway, what brings forth the *REED* project is a consensus on the necessity for “a vast, concerted effort to provide accurate transcripts of those many provincial records which had not yet been accurately transcribed, or even transcribed at all, and which were not available in convenient printed form, beginning, at least for the dramatic records, with important towns such as York, Norwich, Coventry, Leicester, and Bristol” (85) about the medieval period up to 1642.

With the birth of the *REED (Records of Early English Drama)* project in the 1970s and its ongoing contribution to early modern dramatic records, more attention is drawn to the tradition of touring as a regular activity among professional companies and the regional based playing troupes and provincial playing spaces. With the continuous

discovery of provincial dramatic documents, capital-centred early modern theatre history becomes highly problematic. What are also called into question are the dominance and over-reading of scanty evidentiary support, such as the Swan drawing, in reconstructions of early modern theatres, as well as scholars' heavy reliance on the printed texts of Shakespeare's plays in reconstructing the original production, "asking what were the minimum requirements in terms of actors, staging and properties of performance . . . and [reading] back from his dramas to determine the working features of the playhouse accordingly" (Foakes, "Henslowe's Rose" 27). This is particularly true where these play-texts were problematic in their origins and not necessarily, as Gurr assumed, records of the original performances written for particular playing spaces ("Amphitheatres" 47-62).

Another important issue that is brought into focus is the association of the bad quartos with touring in the provinces. As Paul Werstine points out, the puzzling problem of Shakespeare's texts concerns "a handful of printings of Shakespeare plays offering texts that are much shorter than the ones we are used to reading but that nevertheless are far from uniform in their abbreviation of the familiar texts in that they sometimes reproduce substantial passages in their familiar form, and sometimes radically cut or telescope the texts; sometimes the dialogue is recognisable, but sometimes it is almost entirely different from what we know" (103-4). Such complications lead to a scholarly division between the "good" and "bad" quartos according to the text's length, poeticalness and whether it acquires the appropriate "Author's Manner" (Hagen 222), and, eventually, such a watershed causes, in Werstine's term, an "anti-provincial bias" (105). According to Pollard and Wilson, the London audiences would have better taste and higher demand than the provincial audiences since "the groundlings of a London theatre would have had a

good deal to say if, after paying for an afternoon's entertainment, they had been fobbed off with anything less" (Pollard and Wilson 18), and, therefore, "the abridgments can only have been made for audiences in the provinces" and "would be useless for London performances (Pollard and Wilson 18, 30). This biased view which associates these "bad" quartos with provincial performances is further strengthened by Greg's analysis of Greene's *Orlando Furioso* which is passed down to us in the form of two quartos (1594, 1599) and a manuscript part of the lead role preserved among the Alleyn papers at Dulwich College. As the printed plays and the manuscript differ considerably, Greg suggests that the manuscript was probably what Greene originally wrote and was transmitted to Edward Alleyn when the Queen's Men "was in a very low water," whilst the 1594 and 1599 quartos were products of "constant cutting and readjustment" of the original text and a memorial reconstruction by the members of the Queen's Men who "saw no reason for discontinuing their performance of the play even though they had parted with the manuscript" but had to extensively cut down the text "as their fortunes sank lower" (qtd. Wertine 106-7). The quarto versions of *Orlando Furioso*, in such a view, are a result of "progressive corruption" as the Queen's Men continued to abridge, cut, and improvise as they travelled in the provinces (qtd. Wertine 107). A view, as Wertine points out, "inspired confidence in the editors who assimilated it to the Shakespeare 'bad quartos' that we could know how these texts had come to be" (107).

However, this kind of anti-provincial theory becomes untenable when MacLean, in "Tour Routes: 'Provincial Wanderings' or Traditional Circuits," proves that the London playing companies did not tour only when the playhouses were closed during the plague and Ingram, in "The Cost of Touring," indicates that companies would require

a considerable amount of investment for touring and they would not be able to do so if their means were base. In addition, as Werstine argues, “So much evidence of playing in the provinces has made it difficult to sustain the belief in debased provincial tastes that would be satisfied with performances of what Greg called wretched texts” (109) and as records from *REED* volumes on Kent show “entries from Sir Edward Dering’s household accounts recording his attendance at performances, sometimes in London, sometimes elsewhere” (qtd. Werstine 112); audience’s taste, therefore, does not necessarily vary widely between the capital and provinces.

Therefore, as the *REED* project carries on, the awareness of the touring tradition and regional dramatic activities prompts different approaches to the composition of early modern theatre history and encourages scholarly attentions towards a more balanced theatre history by an increased focus on provincial playing spaces and the travelling circuits of professional playing companies. As Knutson has noticed, important works concerning touring tradition are incorporated into ‘Companion’ series by major press (Cambridge, Blackwell’s, Oxford), and “Of these, Blackwell’s *Companion to Renaissance Drama* (2002), edited by Arthur Kinney, has the highest incidence of *REED* Matter; it includes essays by Peter Greenfield on travelling companies and Suzanne Westfall on performances in great households” (“Everything’s Back” 117). In addition, Andrew Gurr’s *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* published in 1996, also includes a chapter on the subject of travelling, and attaches a long appendix of data on touring to each chapter on company history. *A New History of Early English Drama*, an important anthology of the early modern theatre edited by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, also includes essays of early modern theatre history which are “revisionist in large part because of the influence of *REED* data; these include not only an essay by Peter Greenfield on touring but also

essays by scholars intimately associated with the archival retrieval and/or the application of that data: John Wasson, Alan Nelson, Suzanne Westfall, John R. Elliott, Jr., Garrett Epp, and Paul Whitefield White" (Knutson, "Everything's Back" 118). Individual works, including Siobhan Keenan's *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England* as well as Sally-Beth MacLean and Scott McMillin's *The Queen's Men and their Plays*, also illustrate a theatre history that is non-metropolitan and heavily indebted to the *REED* volumes.

However, despite the transition of the capital focus to traditional provincial touring and the emphasis on a more profit-motivated rather than a court and civic regulated playing organism, the current dominant theatre historiography is fundamentally akin to its predecessors. In the following paragraphs, I would like to demonstrate how Keenan, MacLean and McMillin attempt to resist but eventually, at least to some extent, compromise with the traditional metropolitan and Shakespeare oriented history of the early modern theatre.

In *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England*, Keenan purports "to study the touring practices and performances of professional travelling players in Elizabethan and Jacobean England and the venues in which they performed" (xv). Keenan divides the book into nine chapters with its main body focusing on playing venues: town halls, churches, country houses, drinking houses, schools and universities, markets and game places, and purpose-built playhouses. The outline of the book promises a theatre history that diverts itself from a capital based narrative. In each chapter, she demonstrates evidence, largely from the *REED* volumes, of how these provincial places were used as playing spaces and provides a number of supporting cases: the performance of *The Cradle of Security* at Gloucester Booth Hall dated between



1565-75 (38-39), Leicester's Men's performance in the parish church at Aldeburgh in 1573-4 (45), the staging of *Titus Andronicus* at Burley-on-the Hill, Rutland (77-85), and the Queen's Men playing at the Red Lion Inn, Norwich in 1583 (99-105).

Apart from her attempts to demonstrate an alternative interpretation of professional touring by providing evidence of a variety of indoor and outdoor venues used by professional travelling players, Keenan also provides readers a view of the non-metropolitan playing business by presenting examples of regional based troupes, as well as provincial purpose-built and/or converted playhouses. For instance, the itinerant Yorkshire troupe led by Catholics Robert and Christopher Simpson, who specialised in private-house performances in the Jacobean period as well as the Children of the Queen's Chamber of Bristol, who appear to have no record performing in London but did perform in other provincial towns (Keenan 66, 149-50). Moreover, largely based on the data from *REED* volumes, Keenan in the chapter "Provincial Playhouses in Renaissance England, 1559-1625," looks into three Elizabethan and Jacobean provincial theatres: the Wine Street playhouse in Bristol, the Prescott playhouse in Lancashire and a theatre in York in 1609 (144-164). More importantly, she suggests the link between the Bristol troupe and the playhouse on Wine Street by referring to a royal letter of 1618 in which the Queen's Bristol players "were now licensed to play 'in all *Playhowses* Townehalls Schoolehowses and other places convenient for yat purpose' throughout the realm" (150, my emphasis). She reasons, "As an essentially provincial company, the clause authorizing the troupe to perform at all playhouses would have been most relevant when the troupe was playing in Bristol . . . it is possible that this clause was included primarily with the Wine Street playhouse in mind" (150).

Keenan further suggests, “it seems likely that the royal Bristol troupe did perform at Woolf’s playhouse [on Wine Street] and may even have been based there for a time . . . the Bristol troupe would provide a provincial parallel with earlier metropolitan boy companies such as the Children of St. Paul’s and the Children of the chapel Royal that also used and based themselves at indoor playhouses” (150). Although the outline of Keenan’s work departs largely from a metropolis based theatre history by presenting records, largely derived from the *REED* volumes, that show alternative provincial playing venues as well as regionally based troupes, she eventually could not resist the narrative of a “metropolitan phenomenon” (Keenan 144) in Renaissance England and a historiography dependent on early modern printed texts as well as some perhaps “over-read” pictorial evidentiary records.

To begin with, the examples of alternative playing spaces and regional troupes Keenan has demonstrated appear more often to be the exceptions instead of the norm. In the case of churchyards and schools as playing venues, Keenan acknowledges, “Only one clear record of a patronised troupe performing in churchyards has been found so far between 1559 and 1625” (Keenan 45), and “In the *REED* volumes published thus far only two professional school performances appear to be recorded and in one case the performance was not a play but a tumbling show” (Keenan 108). In the case of markets and game places, the example she provides is based on rather debatable evidentiary support. To begin with, the record of the Earl of Essex’s Men in the apple market in Shrewsbury “is preserved in Dr Taylor’s History of the town. The author describes how on 17 July 1584 there was ‘a notable stadge playe played in the heye[high] streete in shreusbury in the aple market place there by the Earle of Essex Men openly and freely’” (Keenan 138). However, the confirmation of the troupe in town appears in another Bailiff’s records on 18 July

1584, which demonstrate that “A payment was made ‘to my Lord of essex men beinge players . . . and spent on them in especte of helping at yet fyer’ . . . The players acted, it seems, as volunteer ‘fire fighters.’ No further details of the performance are provided in Dr Taylor’s History or in other contemporary sources” (Keenan 138). Under such circumstances, even though she succeeds in demonstrating some alternatives to the capital purpose-built playhouses, she fails to present a more insightful understanding of the provincial playing places.

What further complicates the issue is the methodology she applies to reconstruct a provincial playing space or a specific production. In the case study of the production of *Titus Andronicus* at Burley-on-the-Hill in Rutland, the event was recorded in a letter written by a Frenchman, Jacques Petit, to his patron, Sir Anthony Bacon, in January 1596. However, Petit only supplied a little detailed information about the performance and indicated the production was staged at night by a company of London – and therefore “probably” professional – players. His description of the performance was merely that, “in his opinion, the staging was more impressive than the play’s subject” (Keenan 78). Therefore, in order to reconstruct the performance at Burley-on-the-Hill, Keenan, basing her theory merely on Petit’s comment on the impressive spectacles, imagines the production mainly by recalling the important visual semiotic and stage directions in the play-text, such as “Act 2 Scene 3, Lavinia is called to appear with ‘her hands cut off and her tongue cut out, and ravished,’ while in Act 3 Scene 1, Aaron ‘cuts off Titus’ hand on-stage” (83), and the action “above” which is “required at several points, as in the opening scene which begins with ‘the Tribunes and Senators aloft’” as well as “the use of a below-stage area” – “the ‘pit’ in which Martius and Quintus are trapped with the body of Bassianus (Act 2 scene 2)” (83). However, this kind of reconstruction does

not stand out from the extent textual scholarship and fails to provide an in-depth insight of this particular performance. Although Keenan points out that “Compromises were no doubt necessary when performing in a private house rather than a purpose-built theatre” (83), she could merely provide a rather general and, by no means, specific understanding of the staging of *Titus Andronicus*.

As the Burley estate “does not survive to the present” (Keenan 79) and witnesses of the performance such as Petit did not provide detailed information on the production, Keenan further attempts to reconstruct the performance through another cliché – the “Peacham drawing,” a drawing thought to have been prepared by Henry Peacham between 1595 and 1605, the only contemporaneous illustration of a Shakespearean play, which “conflates two scenes from the first and last acts of the play showing Tamora pleading before Titus for her sons’ lives and Aaron boasting of his wickedness” with extracts from the play demonstrated below (83). Keenan uses the drawing to demonstrate the possible style of costumes: Titus in a Roman style toga, Tamora in “a loose patterned gown in keeping with English Renaissance conceptions of Gothic female clothing” and the two soldiers behind Titus “wear Elizabethan dress and carry contemporary halberds” (84), but, again, the costumes shown in the drawing do not necessarily correspond to what was used in the Burley performance, and although it allow us to “gain some idea of an Elizabethan view of the play’s pictorial aspect” (Bate 38), it is insufficient and unspecific in the reconstruction of Keenan’s case.

Furthermore, as Keenan reaches her conclusion, she appears to have gradually returned to the mainstream London-centred narrative of theatre history. She claims, “Purpose-built or converted playhouses were ‘largely’ a ‘metropolitan

phenomenon' in Renaissance England; "research thus far has identified explicit records of only three Elizabethan and Jacobean provincial theatres" (144) and the evidence of provincial based troupes were comparatively rare with the London playing companies. Her last chapter, "The Decline of Professional Touring Theatre" (165-185), further demonstrates her reconciliation with the capital centered historiography. According to Keenan, "Records of travelling companies become increasingly rare in the early 1620s and 'under Charles, the evidence of travelling fades away'" (165). By looking at the total entries of payments between 1560 and 1639, she shows that only 35 per cent of the total entries (530 entries) were made between 1600 and 1639, whilst 65 per cent of the total entries of payment (996 entries) were made between 1560 and 1599 (Keenan 166-7). Moreover, the payments made to players "not" to perform and to leave regional towns increase from 14 between 1560 and 1599 to 44 between 1600 and 1639 (Keenan 170-1).

However, her explanation of such a decline appears fundamentally akin to the extant capital-centred historical narrative on early modern theatres which does not go beyond civic regulation on players as well as audiences (Keenan 173-5), restriction on rewards (Keenan 175), anti-theatrical Puritanism, fear of social disorder that people "might be prompted to riot or rebel if permitted to fraternise in large groups" (Keenan 178) and, most of all, "the thriving of metropolitan playing" (Keenan 182). It is the same kind of evidentiary support – from the Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds in 1572, the Act of Vagabonds revised in 1598 to 1603 when patronage of major companies was monopolised exclusively by the members of the royal family – that scholars, such as Andrew Gurr, adopt to explain a London-centred and residential monopolistic playing business of Shakespeare's Chamberlain's/King's Men and the Admiral's Men (Gurr, *Shakespearian Playing* 198) which Keenan similarly

applies to explain the decline of touring.

Eventually, Keenan arrives at a conclusion that

Once playing companies had begun to establish this more permanent foothold in the capital one of the incentives to travel began to diminish. In London playing companies had access to larger audiences, while the use of dedicated playing places provided an opportunity to tailor spaces for performance and to accumulate larger stocks of playing gear. . . . With the emergence of resident metropolitan troupes the intimate link between touring and professional playing was severed (Keenan 182-4)

Although Keenan sets off to narrate a theatre history that appears resistant to the conventional metropolitan phenomenon, her conclusion allows her to fit into the big picture of a capital oriented theatre history.

Similarly, Sally-Beth MacLean and Scott McMillin's *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* faces the same issue. MacLean and McMillin start the book by acknowledging that "theatre historians have not thought much about the London theatre of 1583. The founding of the Queen's Men makes the year seem decisive, but the context of evidence which would allow us to fill in the terms of that decisiveness has been glanced at mainly by scholars with other stories to tell, stories that concern Shakespeare and the 1590s . . . The urgency of reaching identifiable playwrights whose careers seem to have shape and direction carries us past 1583 with little more than an acknowledgement that the founding of the Queen's Men was an important move in the contest between city and crown over the control of the London theatre" (1). Instead of moving on to the thriving career led by Shakespeare and Marlowe in the 1590s, MacLean and McMillin set out to illustrate a history of Elizabethan theatre "that had never heard of Shakespeare and Marlowe" (1).

Their stated historiography is to focus on a specific company and its repertory instead of the usual approach of dramatist-centered critical perspectives. As MacLean and McMillin suggest in their preface, “[w]e have always settled for the category of authorship to organise our readings of the drama, while we have reserved the category of acting company to organise our narratives of fact, but a new history of Elizabethan drama and theatre might emerge . . . from coming criticism, textual study, and factual narrative under the primary category of acting company” (xiii).

The book is divided into seven chapters, three on the history of the Queen’s Men and their place in the larger history of the early modern stage, and four on their plays concerning the requirement, style of their drama and repertory and artistic possibilities of their performance. MacLean and McMillin begin their narrative of an actor’s theatre in 1583 instead of a playwright’s and reader’s, and demonstrate an environment where “The actors were in circulation and London was the centre of the circulation” (5). Behind the formation of the Queen’s Men in 1583 lies the royal motive of the Queen’s love of theatre and order as well as another important political motive associated with Leicester and Walsingham that the forming of a royal playing troupe could help both spread propaganda and acquire domestic intelligence through touring. As MacLean and McMillin suggest, it is not only important to “think of them [the Queen’s Men] as holding an advantage among adult companies on the court schedule,” but “it is even more important to think of them as holding an advantage across the country” (5).

More importantly, MacLean and McMillin challenge the common notions that touring was the last resort when plague affected the London area and the association of provincial touring with the Queen’s Men’s gradual downfall – the notion that they

travelled as they could not compete with the new thriving companies such as the Chamberlain's and Admiral's Men in London (37-39). According to them, the pursuit of touring was instead mainly motivated by profit. They claim, after 1594, "the Queen's Men continued to pursue the performances in the provinces which had dominated their schedule from the year of their formation. Going primarily to locations north and south where their royal patron never ventured, they spread her name and garnered the highest rewards of any professional company" and even though there is a contrast between the Queen's Men's tour in 1602 and "the ambitious far-flung travels of 1589 . . . it is still apparent from what we know of their annual itineraries that the Queen's Men, from the beginning of their career in 1583 to their final year, 1602-3, were quite simply, the best known and most widely travelled professional company in the kingdom" (67) and, moreover, they remained to be the company with the highest number of records as well as largest rewards in the provinces until as late as 1603 (67; 170-188).

The reasons for the Queen's Men's decline, as MacLean and McMillin otherwise suggest, could be the death of Tarlton as well as its other key actors, the emergence of new and fashionable style of drama, as well as the deaths of Leicester in 1588 and Walsingham in 1590, which left the troupe no backup at the Court (168). However, even though MacLean and McMillin strongly resist the conventional historiography by shifting the focus from playwrights to actors and companies and provide us a model of playing business that thrived not only in the Court but also touring outside the capital, in their explanation of the Queen's Men's decline, they draw their conclusion from the rise of print culture in 1590s which, in their opinion, did not agree with the troupe's old-fashioned and "medley" style of repertory whose simple and impromptu nature suited better the stage than the page (124-154). Such



logic leads MacLean and McMillin to devote their final concluding chapter to Marlowe and Shakespeare and illustrate how an “acting” company’s plays failed to compete with the plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare, whose poeticalness and blank-verse style became the dominant one in the print industry as well as in the playing business in and outside London. And eventually, it is the Queen’s Men’s “inability to participate in the blank-verse revolution” that leads them to their downfall.

Although MacLean and McMillin’s narrative departs greatly from a playwright and capital-centred perspective as they begin, at the end, when explaining the decline of this prominent company in 1580s, they still return to a conventional historiography where Marlowe and Shakespeare became the rising stars in London and whose playing companies “travelled comparatively little, reserving their energies for their now-established theatres and special performances at court. More active touring companies such as Pembroke’s and Worcester’s Men cannot compete in the distances covered or the number of locations visited. This remains true even in the last years of their provincial career, when the Queen’s Men may have become a smaller troupe, still touring more widely than other companies, but no longer reaching the same number of audiences and no longer distinguished by the star acts that they once could boast” (67).

Eventually, even though both *Travelling Players in Shakespeare’s England* and *The Queen’s Men and Their Plays* challenge the traditional notion of a London-centered playing business as well as an author-oriented historiography, the conclusion of their theses not only compromises with the conventional methodology but also enables them to fill in the gap of a larger historical narrative where the early modern playing

business culminated eventually in London with the emergence of Marlowe and Shakespeare.

Indeed, scholars who work on or with the help of the *REED* project add new blood to the understanding of the early modern theatres by unearthing and correcting regional dramatic records, but, in the end, they are similarly looking for the completion of a bigger picture of the theatre history. What remains in this scholarship is an impulse to illustrate a complete if not coherent early modern theatre history before the parliament ordered an end to all public performances in 1642 – the desire to reach, in a historical narrative, a culmination of the playing business with the rise of Shakespeare and his company (Knutson 19-20). As Galloway appeals to his fellow historians, “we should not abandon hope of finding some names [in the yet to be discovered provincial records] – even, perhaps, the names of some of Shakespeare’s plays – until the records of *REED* are complete” (93).

From a study centred on London and professional theatres to larger scale of studies that include all dramatic activities, historians seem to offer views on Elizabethan theatres that are fundamentally distinctive from one another; however, they work in cooperation instead of rivalry. No matter how much the *REED* project intends to resist a Shakespeare oriented methodology, as Audrey Douglas and Sally-Beth MacLean acknowledge, in their introduction to *REED in Review: Essays in Celebration of the First Twenty-Five Years*, “*REED*’s ongoing struggle to maintain its funding” and that the survival of this project is largely dependent on Shakespearean scholars who recognise “the relevance of *REED*’s published volumes to Elizabethan repertory and professional playing practices” (9).

More interestingly, what has expanded from the *REED* scholarship are projects that focus on touring companies such as the Queen's Men whilst adopting a Stygian stage-centred approach akin to modern Shakespearean editorial practice. The assumption that early modern play-texts can only be fully appreciated and understood when they are physically put on stage is not only embedded in the historiography of early modern theatre and editorial practice but also finds its way to recent research projects such as *Shakespeare and the Queen's Men Project* (2006-). It is a project inspired by McMillin and MacLean's urgings in *The Queen's Men and their Plays* that the Queen's Men are "worth our consideration" for being Shakespeare's contemporary (xvi), and, in Peter Cockett's words, his research is "guided by a desire to reach back and understand the past" (229). Although on the official website, a clear acknowledgement states that "it is impossible to recreate past performances,"<sup>14</sup> they go on to justify the "value of pursuing research through artistic production" by explaining:

1. The impossibility of recreating the past does not stop historians making arguments in order to communicate their understanding of the available evidence.
2. We believe producing plays gives a particular insight into theatrical process and dramatic text; one that cannot be achieved through the studying of documents and writing of papers alone much as we support, encourage and engage in these activities.

The project promises an approach "distinct from the work of mainstream professional producers of Shakespeare and his more famous contemporaries because [their] production process was driven by a desire to understand the Queen's Men plays in their original historical and theatrical context." However, despite their effort to "separate [themselves] from the essentialism associated with other work in this area" by avoiding words such as "recreation," "reconstruction," and

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<sup>14</sup> The details of the intention and guideline of this project can be found on their official website: <http://tapor.mcmaster.ca/~thequeensmen/about/aboutSQM2.htm>.

“authentic” (Cockett 229), their methodology – using theatrical production to “research theatre history” – is not far from the established Shakespearean scholarly approach – adopting available evidence of early modern performances, history of the texts and performing conditions as well as vigorously interpreting the meaning of plays so as to interweave the bits and pieces into readable historical narratives.

What I find enticing in early modern theatre history is this process of reconstruction. Historians set out to understand the organism of the acting business, study play-texts and documents in order to reconstruct an Elizabethan production at particular performing spaces. They are led to the archival study of theatre personnel, its socio-economic background, the authenticity of the early printed texts, and hypotheses on the design and construction of those demolished theatres on the basis of limited pictorial support, such as the Swan drawing, or documents that provide basic dimensions of theatres. The massive scale of research on early modern theatre history expanded, becoming the study of theatre personnel, the map of their travelling circuits, their potential repertory and cultural and political background; in this expansion, the search for the performing spaces and their internal design becomes inevitably lost as well as the majority of the play-texts. Eventually, it is a theatre history without the theatres but a history of the players, theatre owners, theatre impresarios, dramatists, patrons, maps of touring and performing locations, government politics and the complicated and controversial relationship between them.

Despite their agenda to compensate for the London and Shakespeare centred historiography, the strand of academic approach conducted by the *REED* scholars, McMillin, MacLean as well as Keenan opens up a new opportunity to look at early

modern theatre practice. Since the studies of the early modern playing spaces continue to rely significantly on play-texts, as we can observe in *Shakespeare and the Queen's Men project* and its extending project *Queen's Men's Editions*,<sup>15</sup> it seems appropriate that we turn our focus to a theatre company such as the Queen's Men that did not permanently reside in London and examine the spatial indication within such a repertory. If the spatial reconstruction of the early modern theatre gives us any sense of how Shakespeare and his contemporaries "may have done it" in the capital, it becomes crucial whether the spatial practice indicated in the repertoire of the Chamberlain's/Admiral's Men differs from that of the Queen's Men – a company that appears to travel greatly in the provinces. For whether or not the repertoire of a touring company suggests a more flexible style of spatial practice to meet the constant changing requirement of the diverse venues they would have encountered, the examination of the spatial practice implied in such a repertory can confirm or deny the degree to which the established theatre reconstruction of playhouses associated with Shakespeare and his contemporaries is a sufficient and workable model to sum up theatrical practice of this period. More importantly, as Lucy Munro points out,

Studying a company repertory enables us to recuperate plays and dramatists often neglected in traditional critical works and to place them alongside more canonical texts and writers. It also opens up a discursive space in which we can study all those who took part in the production of plays, from the dramatists to the shareholders, from the patrons to the actors. In a system in which commercial plays were generally commissioned and bought outright by the companies, it seems paradoxical that the study of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama has been so often organised around dramatists, whose control over their texts was limited and local . . . it enables a critic to allow for the input of a far greater range of agents than a thematic or author-based approach.

(12)

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<sup>15</sup> Further details of the Queen's Men's Edition project can be found on their official website: <http://qme.internetshakespeare.uvic.ca>.

Thus, in the next chapter, I turn my attention to examine and analyse the spatial practices implied in the Queen's Men's repertory in the hope not only to depart from an author-based and capital-centred approach but also to examine the feasibility of gauging the style of spatial practice through play-texts that are associated with a particular playing company.

### Chapter Three

#### The Queen's Men and their Spatial Practice: a Repertory Approach

A repertory approach to early modern theatre is by no means innovative. As demonstrated in the previous chapters,<sup>16</sup> theatre historians as well as editors often apply spatial indications in repertories of the Chamberlain/Admiral's Men to reconstruct playhouses such as the Globe and the Rose architecturally and to reconstruct early modern productions scenographically. In order to dissociate myself from a historiography that is often prompted by the desire to illustrate a complete if not coherent early modern theatre history and a desire to demonstrate a history that reaches its culmination with the rise of Shakespeare and his company (Knutson, *Repertory* 19-20), the following chapter will look at a specific repertory of a professional playing company and depart from an author-based and London-centred methodology. Instead of working on Shakespeare's Chamberlain/King's Men and its main rival the Admiral's Men, I single out the Queen's Men's repertory because of their vast touring records between the Court, London and the provinces as McMillin and MacLean have demonstrated, and also because the troupe's career with its promising formation in 1583 began at least seven or eight years before the arrival of Shakespeare and only declines in 1602-3.

By examining the stage directions and other spatial elements in the Queen's Men's repertory, my purpose here is to see the extent to which a spatial reconstruction through play-texts is feasible on a repertory that is not particularly associated with a playing venue, the degree to which the spatial model of the Queen's Men's plays is distinct from or similar to that of its peers as well as to examine the notion of space we could gain from studying the play-texts in this repertoire.

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<sup>16</sup> See Introduction 2 -19, Chapter One 42-47 and Chapter Two 49-77, 91.

## **The Queen's Men's Repertory and the Issue of Provenance**

McMillin and MacLean are rather cautious in their choice of plays in this repertory. Their rationale is to discuss plays only when there are title page attributions to the company or when there is other substantial evidence suggesting the dramas were in none other's but the Queen's Men's hands (86-7). In total, McMillin and MacLean are conservative in their selection of nine plays in the entire repertoire. As my main purpose is to see what kind of texts the Queen's Men was capable of putting on stage, under what kind of circumstances these texts may have been staged, and how much information concerning "space" we could gather from the extant printed plays, I will consider a text as long as evidence indicates its association with the Queen's Men either in the long or short term. However, as plays can be connected with the Queen's Men by evidence of different degrees of authority, I will group the plays into three lists according to their relevance to the playing company. The rationale I am adopting here derives from two main sources: Baskervill's *The Elizabethan Jig* and Reynolds' *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theatre*. Baskervill's work influences this current approach by his method of cataloguing and defining the wide and varied styles of literature that can be described as jigs and by his method of prioritising and narrowing down the class of jig of the most significance by their origin and provenance (*Elizabethan Jig* 3-4). Similarly, Reynolds, in his analysis of the plays performed at the Red Bull, categorises them into three lists according to the authority of the evidence, and, consequently, the list of the most relevant plays to the Red Bull is at the heart of his discussion (5-7).

Applying their methodology, I will divide plays associated with the Queen's Men by the following principles. Group A will include plays associated with the Queen's



Men by evidence of the most reliable authority especially when there are title page attributions to the company. My reasoning is analogous to McMillin and MacLean who prioritise evidence given by the title pages as they “assume that publisher stated the facts of the case” on the title page and that the publishers “knew more than we know about where the plays came from” (87). Group B includes plays we have good reasons to believe that are associated with the Queen’s Men by indirect evidence or evidence with more debatable authority. Group C include plays that are suspected to be associated with the company mainly by theatre or printing personnel who have a history working with the company – this group is of the least authority and subsequently of the least importance as no direct evidence links these plays to the Queen’s Men and some of them were recorded being performed by other playing companies. The plays in this group are still worthy of consideration albeit holding less significance than plays from group A and B. As Knutson challenges the conventional understanding of the rivalry between playing companies, she points out:

Operating within the limits defined by various governmental pressures, the companies developed protocols and marketing strategies by which their industry might expand and prosper . . . In short, the companies stood to gain much from cooperation and little from rivalry.

*(Playing Companies 20)*

In the same spirit, plays that are often assumed to be exclusively owned by one company in order to compete with other playing troupes could be shared by more than one playing company, and we cannot dismiss the likelihood of a theatre company such as the Queen’s Men – famous for their journeys into the provinces – to tour with a repertory that was also staged by other playing companies in the capital as long as there is evidence suggesting the association. It is important to point out, however, that I will not include plays in group C if a play was advertised on the title page as having been performed by another playing company even though

the author or printer of the play may have a working history with the royal troupe. This may be an arbitrary choice, but it is necessary to make a cutting point when plays are recognised as more firmly established as a part of another playing company's repertoire.

Following the principles established above, group A will include plays which are related to the Queen's Men mostly by title page attribution to the company.

Although the Queen's Men were formed in 1583, their plays did not reach the printer until the 1590s. Among the extant early printed texts, there were seven plays first published before 1599 with the title page attribution to the Queen's Men. These are *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*,<sup>17</sup> *The Old Wives Tale*, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*,<sup>18</sup> *The True Tragedy of Richard III*, *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *I Selimus*. *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* is also included in group A because of Robert Wilson's authorship as well as the "play's lament for Tarlton" (McMillin and MacLean 89). Both Robert Wilson and Richard Tarlton joined the Queen's Men when the troupe was formed in 1583 (Chambers 2:

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<sup>17</sup> Although the title page of the 1594 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* indicates that the play was "*plaid by her Maiesties seruants*," contradictory evidence appears in *Henslowe's diary*, in which an entry was made for 19 February 1592, where the play was not marked as new (16-29) and the performance was by Lord Strange's Men. The play appeared seven times in *Henslowe's Diary* when the Strange's Men worked at the Rose from 1592 to 1593. A later entry in *Henslowe's Diary* recorded the Queen's Men and Sussex's Men's joint revival of the play in April 1594 (21). The play also appeared in the Stationer's Registry in the subsequent month and was published in the same year. These pieces of evidence lead Lavin to question the ownership of the play as "the title page statement is probably no more than a reference to the recent joint performances by two companies at the Rose, and not an indication of actual ownership" (xiii). In W. W. Greg's explanation, Greene's play was probably "acquired by Henslowe from the Queen's Men, lent to Strange's in 1592, and then back to the Queen's in 1594" (qtd. *John of Bordeaux* ix). These interpretations are rejected forcefully by McMillin and MacLean as they believe that the *Friar Bacon* entered by Henslowe for the Strange's Men between 1592 and 1593 refers to a manuscript play called *John of Bordeaux* in which a character named Friar Bacon appears as a hero and "John Holland, an actor known to have been with Strange's Men" appears to play the part of a devil (90). According to them, Henslowe used *Friar Bacon* to indicate two separate plays: *John of Bordeaux* performed by Strange's Men and *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* by the Queen's Men (90).

<sup>18</sup> The play was printed in a single black letter quarto with two separate title pages for each part. The two parts are bibliographically interdependent. However, since they were printed with two separate signature sequences beginning with its own sheets (Forker 87-9), the quotations from each part would be specified as either 1 or 2 *The Troublesome Reign of King John*.

107).

Group B includes *King Leir* because of Henslowe's entry in his account in 1594. Henslowe listed performances of a King Leir "when the Queen's Men and Sussex's Men were acting together at the Rose," and "[s]ince Henslowe's earlier list of plays by Sussex's Men does not include this title, the play is assumed to have been provided by the Queen's Men" (McMillin and MacLean 88). Another play that will also be considered in this category is *Alphonsus King of Aragon*. The play is included here not simply because of the authorship of Robert Greene who wrote *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *I Selimus* for the Queen's Men and was also accused of having sold *Orlando Furioso* to both the Queen's Men and Admiral's Men. The main reason to include *Alphonsus King of Aragon* in group B lies in the fact that a very rare prop is required and it can only be found in another Queen's Men's play written by Greene – *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. As Dessen and Thomson point out in *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama 1580-1642*, the usage of a "brazen head" only appears in these two Greene's plays. The rarity of this "brazen head" and the connection between the Queen's Men and the only other play which requires such a prop, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, in my opinion, suggests a very plausible relationship between *Alphonsus King of Aragon* and the royal troupe.

Apart from title page attributions, records of performance and evidence of connection between playwrights and the Queen's Men, G. M. Pinciss also suggests another way to attribute plays to the Queen's Men. According to him, a series of events during the plague from 1592-1594 might point to a link between Thomas Creede, who set up his printing office about 1593, and the failing Queen's Men. Pinciss's speculation about this financially crippled company derives from two pieces

of evidence. First, the company's visits in Court decreased in frequency as well as quantity and had its last appearance in 6 January 1594. Second, an entry made by Henslowe records that he lent Francis his nephew 15 pounds "for his share to the Quenes players when they brock & went into the contrey to playe" (qtd. Pinciss 321). What further brings Pinciss to connect Creede with the Queen's Men's plays concerns seven titles listed by Creede between March and July on the Stationers' Register in 1594. Among them, three directly indicated their ownership by the Queen's Men, and Creede was involved in four out of the entire seven extant plays with title page attribution to the company printed before 1599 - *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, *The True Tragedy of Richard III*, *Clyomon and Clamydes* and *I Selimus*. Such a conjecture leads Pinciss to further include another four plays registered and printed by Creede in 1594, which are *A Looking Glass for London and England*, *The Scottish History of James IV*, *Lochrine* and *Alphonsus King of Aragon*. According to him, Robert Greene's authorship for three of the titles further confirms their ownership as Greene "is known to have written for [the Queen's Men]" (322).

Although the connection between the Queen's Men and Thomas Creede is enticing, there is no direct evidence associating the two and no explanation of why Creede only ascribed four instead of all of the plays he printed before 1599 to the royal company if they were all originally the Queen's Men's plays. Pinciss's speculation of the desperate Queen's Men selling play books to Creede during the time of plague in 1593 is also challenged by Blayney's suggestion that "publicity," in other words, advertising, was a possible motive for the cluster of the twenty-seven play books registered between December 1593 and July 1594 (among which six were advertised on their title page as performed by the Queen's Men), a time when companies returned to London from touring. According to Blayney, these plays were published

after rather than during the theatre closure due to the plague (386, 396).

What I think worth considering however is the relation between Robert Greene and the Queen's Men. As two of his plays were already attributed to the royal company on their title pages, it is also worth considering *Orlando Furioso* which was allegedly sold by Greene to both the Queen's Men and Admiral's Men (Greg *Orlando* vi-vii).

The records of performance shown in Henslowe's account also suggest that the play was staged by Strange's Men (possibly when Alleyn was working with them) at the Rose on 22 February 1592 (McMillin and MacLean 93). I have therefore included this play in group C instead of group B, because although the author of *A Defence of Cony-Catching* may well have told truth, the printed text in question could have descended to us from either the Queen's Men, Admiral's Men, or Strange's Men (McMillin and MacLean 93).

Other Greene's plays that will also be considered in group C include *A Looking Glass for London and England* and *The Scottish History of James IV*. The association of the two plays with the Queen's Men derives from the appearance of an "Adam" which may have alluded to the royal player John Adams. The name "Adam" is repeatedly used as an alternative for the clown either in the speech headings or in the dialogue in *A Looking Glass for London and England*. It also appears in a stage direction in *The Scottish History of James IV* which is often taken as a mistake for the character Oberon. Although McMillin and MacLean dismiss the link between the occurrences of "Adam" and the royal player John Adams (91-2) and *A Looking Glass for London and England* was also recorded being performed by Strange's Men, the history between Greene and the Queen's Men prompts me to include these plays in group C. I have, however, not included *George a Green* in list C even though it has been

attributed to Robert Greene according to the manuscript entry by George Buc on its title page. The main reason lies in the fact that, in addition to the debatable attribution of the play to Greene, the drama was also recorded as being performed by Sussex's Men in *Henslowe's Diary* and was also advertised on its title page as sundry times acted "by the servants of the right Honourable the Earle of Sussex."<sup>19</sup>

I will also include in group C plays by George Peele when they are not firmly established as a part of another company's repertory (i.e. when they are not attributed to other companies on their title pages). As Peele is at least responsible for one of the Queen's Men's plays from group A (i.e. *The Old Wives Tale*) and possibly another group A play *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, I will include *Edward I* and *The Love of David and Fair Bathsheba* in the following discussion. Finally, because of the Queen's Men's connection with Robert Wilson the actor/playwright, I will also include *The Cobbler's Prophecy*.<sup>20</sup> This play is not categorised in group A or B because it is uncertain when and for whom the play was written.<sup>21</sup> Robert Wilson is known to have performed and written for Leicester's Men before 1583 and later on became one of Henslowe's stable of writers at least as early as 1598.<sup>22</sup> It is uncertain how long he remained as a member of the Queen's

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<sup>19</sup> As Alan H. Nelson argued, "[i]t seems unlikely that Shakespeare named Robert Greene as the author. The pamphleteer and playwright of this name died in September 1592, some fifteen months before the only known performances of *George a Green*; yet Shakespeare testified that the play's author acted the Pinner's part himself. Furthermore, Shakespeare's identification of the author as "a minister" should not have been necessary if he had thought that the play had been written by a person of any contemporaneous fame . . . [I]t is difficult to believe that the play's title would not have jogged Shakespeare's memory (or Buc's) if the author's surname had been Greene. Conversely, Juby's attribution of the play to Robert Greene may have been nothing more than a shrewd but mistaken inference from the play's title" (80-2).

<sup>20</sup> Notably, I have not included *The Pedlar's Prophecy* for discussion. Although the similarity between the titles of the play and Wilson's *The Cobbler's Prophecy* has been used as an evidence of Wilson's authorship, it has been suggested that *The Pedlar's Prophecy* was written as early as 1560s and therefore it is not discussed here as a part of Wilson's as well as the Queen's Men's repertory. See Chambers' *The Elizabethan Stage* (4: 41) and *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700* (38-9).

<sup>21</sup> McMillin and MacLean did not include this play for the same reason.

<sup>22</sup> See David Kathman in *DNB* as well as Lloyd Edward Kermode's *Three Renaissance Usury Plays* for a more cogent and detailed discussion of Robert Wilson's biography as well as their reasoning against the two -Wilson theory (30-31).

Men after his composition of *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, and, therefore, *The Cobbler's Prophecy* is grouped in list C. I will also include *Three Ladies of London* in group C despite the fact that the play is mainly recognised a Leicester's Man's play. As Kermode points out,

Whatever the prompt for the work [i.e. *Three Ladies of London*], Wilson wrote and acted in a play that he probably took with him from Leicester's Men to the Queen's Men, and Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean have pointed out that the connection between Leicester and his players after 1583 remained strong. The sequel play *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* is a Queen's Men's play, and the second edition of *Three Ladies* in 1592 might suggest a double-bill performance in the years 1588-92 (it certainly suggests the play's popularity); this situation brings together Wilson, Leicester, the Queen's Men and their politico-moral allegorical drama as spokes in the same Protestant, patriotic wheel of the 1580s and 1590s . . . *Three Ladies* is a text that could be used in various playing situations, as might be demanded by a playwright taking it with him between companies and locations.

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To sum up, group A consists of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *The Old Wives Tale*, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, *The True Tragedy of Richard III*, *Clyomon and Clamydes*, *I Selimus* as well as *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*. Group B includes *King Leir* and *Alphonsus King of Aragon*. The wider range of plays included in group C contains *Orlando Furioso*, *A Looking Glass for London and England*, *The Scottish History of James IV*, *Edward I*, *The Love of David and Fair Bathsheba*, *The Cobbler's Prophecy* and *Three Ladies of London*.

### **Stage Directions and Architectural Reconstruction: Texts and Venues**

In the three groups of plays I have included in the Queen's Men's repertory, the most common stage directions that indicate physical activities and spatial dimensions can be categorised into: up and down movement; the usage of curtains; and entrance and exit with or without the reference to one, two, different or several doors/sides. Vertical movement can be observed in a number of plays from group A. In *Clyomon*

and *Clamydes*, two stage directions are used to cue the descending and ascending of “Providence” (F4<sup>r</sup> 1549, 1565), and in *I The Troublesome Reign of King John*, the citizens of Angiers are summoned by the rivalling King John and young Arthur and “appeare upon the walls” (C3<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>v</sup>). This kind of physical movement is also required in group B plays such as the entrance and exit of Venus in *Alphonsus King of Aragon* who is to “be let downe from the top of the stage” (A3<sup>r</sup> 2-3) until she is eventually drawn up from the stage (I4<sup>r</sup> 2110). Vertical movements can also be seen in group C plays such as *Edward I* in which Queen Elinor entreats her daughter Jone to help her as she “sinckes” (2450) and, in the subsequent scene, she “riseth out of the ground” (2527-28) on “Charing green” (2535). Reference to the use of doors for entrance and exit of characters can be found in various occasions in group A plays such as *I Selimus* (C3<sup>r</sup> 571-3, C4<sup>r</sup> 657-8, K1<sup>r</sup> 2430-3) and *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (H2<sup>r</sup>) as well as a group B play, *Alphonsus King of Aragon* (B4<sup>v</sup> 392-3). The use of curtains can also be seen in two group A and two group C plays. For instance, Friar Bacon “[draws] the curtains with a white sticke” as he enters the scene (*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* G1<sup>v</sup> 1561), and Delia is discovered asleep behind a curtain in *The Old Wives tale* (1060). Similarly, Remilia is found “stroken with Thunder, black” as Rasni “draws the Curtains” in *A Looking Glass for London and England* (C2<sup>v</sup>)<sup>23</sup> whilst King David “drawes a curaine and discovers Bathsabe with her maid bathing over a spring” (*The Love of David and Fair Bathsheba* B1<sup>v</sup> 25-27).

Physical indications of such kinds are not unprecedented in the plays associated with the Queen’s Men. Examples as such are abundant in early modern plays, and as I have mentioned earlier, they have been adopted by historians, such as Hosley, Gurr

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<sup>23</sup> All references to *A Looking Glass for London and England* are meant for the 1594 edition unless otherwise stated.



and Wickham, to reconstruct particular spaces architecturally especially when a play is associated with a particular playing company and venue. However, this kind of reconstruction reaches an obstacle as there are few records regarding the Queen's Men's performances and only a number of spaces are recognised as where their performances took place.

According to Chambers, the Bull and the Bell Inn were "assigned by a civic order of 28th November 1583 to the Queen's Men for their first winter season" (2: 381).

Tarlton and the Queen's Men were mentioned in the *Jests* to "have played 'oftentimes' at 'the Bull in Bishops-gate-street' and here their play of *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, with Tarlton in the parts of the judge and the clown and Knell in that of Henry, was given" (Chambers 2: 381). Another two venues where Tarlton may have performed appear in Chambers' account – the Curtain and the Bel Savage (Chambers 2: 109). Since Tarlton is believed to have remained as a member of the Queen's Men, his appearance in these playing venues indicates the performances of the royal troupe. However, there is no reference to which play-texts Tarlton and the Queen's Men actually performed in the Curtain and Bel Savage.

In addition to the evidence of the royal troupe's frequent visit to the inn-playhouse, a list of performances were listed by Henslowe when "the Quenes men & my lord of Sussexe" worked "to geather" (Foakes ed., *Henslowe's Diary* 21) at his playhouse. In this list, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *King Leir* are attributed to the Queen's Men in group A and group B as discussed previously. What is important to note here is that the performances of the two plays were most likely to have taken place in the Rose theatre. As Chambers has noted, before "he acquired a share in the

Fortune,” Henslowe “had no propriety interest in any other theatre,” and, thus, all the performances recorded in the diary between 1592 and 1600, apart from a few exceptions, can be assigned to the Rose theatre (2: 408).

Another two plays that may be associated with the Queen’s Men also appear in Henslowe’s account when Strange’s Men were performing at the Rose from February 1592 to the end of 1593. These are two of the plays from group C: *A Looking Glass for London and England* and *Orlando Furioso*.

To sum up, one of the most direct associations of the Queen’s Men and their performance with a designated venue would be the performance of *The Famous Victories of Henry V* at the Bull inn with Tarlton and Knell. What we know of the Bull, however, is rather limited. According to David Kathman in “London Inns as Playing Venues for the Queen’s Men” (*Locating* 67), “the Bull was the only one of the four London inn-playhouses of the late sixteenth century to survive the fire of 1666” and it consisted of three yards. And it is the third yard – “an irregular rectangle, about 45 feet by 35 feet at its widest points” and having only one entrance – where the plays were probably performed (*Locating* 68). From Robert Greene’s anecdote of a couple of cutpurses going to see a play at the Bull in *The Third and Last part of Cony-Catching* we know that the events “take place in an enclosed outdoor space with a single entrance; the young cutpurse steps into a stable immediately after filching a purse, then looks up to see the lusty youth ‘entring at the doore’” (Kathman, *Locating* 68). We also learn from *Tarlton’s Jests* an episode in which Tarlton came “on the stage, one from the gallery threw a pippin at him” at the Bull “where the Queen’s Men oftentimes played” (qtd. Berry 301). Andrew Gurr similarly suggests that the Bull “offered plays outdoors in their yards” with “a square of galleries open

to the sky" (Gurr, *Playing Companies* 118, 201).

Apart from the limited information we have of the Bull inn, physical and spatial indication in *The Famous Victories of Henry V* is also rare apart from the requirement of bigger properties, such as "a Tunne of Tennis Balles" (D3<sup>r</sup>) brought to the English court by the French messenger. As a result, what we can learn from this text in terms of the structure of the Bull inn is rather limited. And as to the other inn-playhouses the Queen's Men had frequented, not only is little known of the buildings we cannot be certain which plays were performed in these venues.<sup>24</sup>

In terms of the Rose plays, common directions, such as indication of a below area (*A Looking Glass* C2<sup>v</sup> E4<sup>r</sup>), the usage of curtains (*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* G1<sup>v</sup> 1561; *A Looking Glass* C2<sup>r</sup>) and walls (*Orlando Furioso* C2<sup>r</sup> 394) could suggest a tiring house/discovery space and a multi-level staging area in the Rose; these "spatial codes" echo Gurr's assumption of a similar model adopted by most early modern theatres in London (*Shakespearean Stage* 134). In addition, *King Leir* (group B), *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (group A) as well as *A Looking Glass for London and England* (group C), comparatively indicate more attempts at creating spectacles by using fire, thunder and lightening.

*Heere Bungay coniures and the tree appears with  
the dragon shooting fire.*

*(Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay E4<sup>r</sup> 1197-8).*

*Heere the Head speakes; and a lightning flasheth forth,  
and a hand appeares that breaketh down the  
Head with a hammer*

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<sup>24</sup> For instance, little is known of the Bell inn apart from a conjecture from David Kathman that the performance at the Bell is more likely to be indoors, as it only had one long but very narrow yard which is 20 feet at its widest (*Locating* 72) and, from a lawsuit in 1592, it is revealed that "the Bell had a hall, located on the upper floor near the front part of the inn" (*Locating* 73).

(*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* G2<sup>v</sup> 1635-8)

*. . . a flame of fire appeareth  
from beneath, and Radagon is swallowed.*  
(*A Looking Glass* E4<sup>r</sup>)

*Thunder and lightning.* ( *King Leir* 1635, 1739; *A Looking Glass* C2<sup>v</sup>)

However, it is questionable whether the frequency of the spectacle scenes and usage of flames and lightning is related to the capacity of the playhouse, the capability of the playing troupe or a result of these plays' authorship. To begin with, these three plays are related to the Queen's Men by different degrees of evidence as they are grouped in three separate categories. Two of the Rose plays (one from group A and the other group C) were associated with Robert Greene and he, in *Alphonsus King of Aragon*, similarly creates spectacles as the brazen head "set in the middle of the place behind the Stage" casts "flames of fire" with "drums rumble within" (F1<sup>v</sup> 1246-8). The relationship between the structure and capacity of the Rose and these play-texts is further complicated by the fact that these plays circulate between different companies and are not necessarily destined for a particular playing venue.

Although we could gather a sense of typical spatial requirement from the "many and varied" stage references to doors, curtains, etc. among early modern plays (Wickham 191), there is a gap between an actual stage and the dimensions implied in the texts. Robert Greene's stage direction in *Alphonsus King of Aragon* clearly indicates his awareness of how physical capacity may vary between playing venues and the flexibility of the play-text.<sup>25</sup> At Venus' final exit, Greene advises,

*Exit Venus. Or if you can conueniently, let a chaire come downe*

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<sup>25</sup> Although Greene's style of stage directions can be seen as "unconventional" in comparison with that of Shakespeare and playwrights in the late sixteenth century, Dessen and Thomson point out in the *Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama 1580-1642* that "[t]he imperative *let* is found regularly in the 1580s and early 1590s but not thereafter" (131).

*from the top of the stage and draw her up.*  
(I3<sup>r</sup> 2109-10; my underline)

It is also questionable how literally we should treat those stage directions. For instance, although there are nearly six hundred examples of doors in the play-texts of this period, alternatives such as side, end or way were also commonly used instead of doors when indicating a character's entrance or exit. In *Alphonsus King of Aragon* and *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, doors were used in the cues of entrance and exit

*Strike up alarum. Enter Flaminius at one doore, Alphonsus,  
at an other, they fight, Alphonsus kill Flaminius*  
(*Alphonsus* B4<sup>v</sup> 392-3)

*The Lords being then to the doore, and they go out.*  
(*Three Lords and Ladies* H2<sup>r</sup>)

However, in *The Scottish History of James IV* along with another eighty four examples found in play-texts of this period (Dessen and Thomson 199), the usage of doors is replaced simply by sides/ways,

*Enter the King of Scots, Iaques, Ateukin, Andrew, Iaques  
running with his sword one way, the King with his  
traine an other way*  
(H2<sup>v</sup> 1821-3)

*March ouer bravelie first the English boste, the sword caried  
before the King by Percy. The Scottish on the other side,  
with all their pompe bravelie*  
(K1<sup>v</sup> 2406-8)

Even though the stage directions provide a general indication of how the characters or props should be moved physically, the discursive use of space in these texts appears far from specific and does not necessarily narrow down the dimensions of the stage or the possibility of how a stage was structured. In addition to the six hundred entries of doors noted by Dessen and Thompson (73), there are about sixty plays with roughly ninety directions for the usage of "curtains" (62). The term

“above” appears about three hundred times (Dessen and Thompson 1) and there are “about forty signals” referring to walls (Dessen and Thompson 245). The frequency of such kinds of directions leads Dessen to a conclusion that “there is indeed a widely shared theatrical vocabulary, especially from the 1590s on” and most of all, “the major variations in that vocabulary seem to arise not from different venues or different decades but from authorial idiosyncrasy” (“Stage Direction as Evidence” 243-4). The fact that physical directions in the three groups of the Queen’s Men’s plays appear common among its contemporaries does not necessarily suggest that all playing venues are based on a similar model. It seems more likely, as Dessen has suggested, that the similarity in the wording of these spatial codes in repertoires associated with different playing companies and venues is a result of a shared language among many theatre personnel.

It is equally important to note that the Queen’s Men’s career was not confined within London and they toured in and out of the provinces from their formation in 1583 to as late as 1603. For example, in the same year when the Queen’s Men performed *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* as well as *King Leir* at the Rose theatre, the Queen’s Men also travelled, from January to September 1594, between Rochester, Coventry, Gloucester, Bath, Bristol, York, and Leicester. During this period of time, they also performed at Hampton Court on the 6<sup>th</sup> January and Berkeley House, Caludon on the 1<sup>st</sup> July (MacLean and McMillin 184). Without any record indicating a permanent foothold in London for the Queen’s Men apart from their first winter season at the Bull and the Bell Inn and with many entries that record their journey throughout the country, it is difficult to say if the plays they acquired were designed singularly for professional playhouses or inns in the capital.

To sum up, if the repertory of a touring company suggests a similar kind of spatial indication to its peers who reside mainly in the capital, the spatial codes in either repertoire perhaps tell us little of the performing venues either in London or in the provinces. As demonstrated earlier, the excavation of the Rose foundation in 1989 forces us to reevaluate our understanding of early modern public playhouses and challenges the assumption of a generic model shared by early modern playhouses in London.<sup>26</sup> It is thus even more problematic if we attempt to assume a shared model of playing venues in and outside of the capital and look for evidence of a playhouse from the product of the printing house.

### **Promptbook, Play-text, and Early Modern Performance**

One of the closest pieces of evidence one can hope to find concerning an early modern performance is perhaps the presence of a promptbook. Unfortunately, no manuscript or promptbook of the Queen's Men's plays during their career exists apart from one prompt copy of the group C plays *A Looking Glass for London and England* which can be found in the University of Chicago Library (Greg, *A Looking Glass* vi). It is a printed copy of the play without the title page to confirm the imprint and date of printing. The manuscript entries on the editions that lead to the recognition of the present copy used as a promptbook include some alteration of the texts, deletion and supplementation of stage directions, corrections of several speech headings as well as a reference to a "M<sup>r</sup> Reason" (F4<sup>r</sup>), presumably the actor Gilbert Reason whose name appears in the patent of Prince Charles' Men in 1610 (Chambers 2: 242; Baskervill, "Prompt" 35).

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<sup>26</sup> See Chapter One 46.

The prompt copy was probably not in use until 1606<sup>27</sup> and the presence of several different hands as well as the usage of “Clear” to supplement the stage directions for exit further suggest that entries were made as late as 1625 (Baskervill, “Prompt” 49). Although all the evidence suggest that this copy was used long after the Queen’s Men’s career and the play’s association with the royal troupe is not as authoritative as those found in group A and B, the promptbook in question can perhaps shed some light on the relationship between a printed copy and the performance of a play-text.

Among the manuscript entries, a roughly eight-line passage is crossed out completely which includes two extraordinary stage directions that require rather complicated actions as well as the use of stage properties:

*Enter rasni with his Lords in pompe, who makes a ward a-  
bout him, with him the Magi in great pompe.*

ras. Magi for love of rasni, by your art,  
By Magicke frame an Arbour out of hand,  
For faire remelia to desport her in,  
Meane while, I wil bethinke me on such a pomp.      Exit.

*The Magi with her rods beate the ground, and from under-  
the same riseth a brave arbour, the king returneth in  
Another sute while the Trumpets sound.*

(C1<sup>r</sup>)

Not only is the above passage crossed out for omission, a couple of manuscript entries are added which appear to alter and simplify the original action indicated in the printed copy. These include an insertion of a direction “Arbor rises” opposite line 489-90 on the right margin as well as a marginal entry of “Lightning” opposite line 491-2 on the right and “thunder” opposite line 492-3 on the left hand side. In addition, a manuscript entry inscribed on the right margin opposite line 495-7 reads:

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<sup>27</sup> As Baskervill points out, the promptbook copy is probably “set before the death of Elizabeth in 1603” as an attribution to the Queen is made at the end of the play. However, since this attribution is bracketed, presumably for omission and several other passages that violate the Act of Abuse are also marked for omission, Baskervill suggests that the promptbook could have been in use as early as 1606 (“Prompt” 34, 46).



“Ent: Ras: / Lords & magi / not paph:” and appears to replace the printed cue for the entrance of Rasni with Lords and Magi in pomp.<sup>28</sup>

Although the entries may have been made by different hands at separate times as Baskervill has observed, what is striking is that these deletions and additions of stage directions suggest a great gap between a printed play-text and what may have been put into productions. The original complex scene – requiring the Magi to beat the ground with their rods and conjure up an arbour rising from the ground in order to meet Rasni’s command – is condensed into the rising of an arbour and the subsequent entrance of Rasni, Lords and Magi with the additional cues for thunder and lightning which are incorporated perhaps to heighten the special effect of the scene.

Although the promptbook does not appear relevant to any production of the Queen’s Men and suggests entries made for different productions from 1606 to 1625, its significance here lies in the fact that the spatial indications and elements in the printed text – either derived from Greene and Lodge’s authorial manuscript or an actor’s copy for a different playing company – can easily be transformed into a spatial practice distinct from what the printed version may have suggested. The simplified scene according to the manuscript entries can perhaps be seen as a result of the fact that a dramatist’s vision may exceed the means and capacity of a playing company and performance venue, and/or the fact that a company can easily change and amend actions to suit their needs. In short, to detect spatial codes from a printed play-text does not really tell us much about either the “original” performance or the spatial structure of a playing venue.

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<sup>28</sup> Detailed notes and analysis of the manuscript entries can be found in Baskervill’s essay “A Prompt Copy of ‘A Looking Glass’” (39-46).

## Prop, Space and Spectacles

In order to avoid taking stage directions too literally and entering the pitfall of a reductive spatial determinism, the following section will move away from such a methodology – applying spatial and architectural traces in play-texts to reconstruct playing venues or particular performances – and focus simply on the notion of space and spatial practice that may be implied by the stage directions in the Queen’s Men’s repertory.

In addition to the spatial and physical stage directions discussed earlier, the stage directions can be further put into four sometimes overlapping categories: mimetic, diegetic, symbolic, and spectacular.

To begin with, a large number of the directions in these plays refer to portable hand props, and examples that aim at a mimetic staging are abundant. The usage of weapons appears frequently in all three groups of the plays associated with the Queen’s Men in the form of daggers, rapiers, swords, shields, lances, truncheons, poniards and wreaths. Examples of a character entering the stage with a dagger can be seen in group A plays such as *Famous Victories of Henry V* (C2<sup>v</sup>) and 2 *Troublesome Reign of King John* (E3<sup>v</sup>), group B plays such as *King Leir* (F3<sup>r</sup> 1453-4) and group C plays such as *A Looking Glass for London and England* (1936) and *The Cobbler’s Prophecy* (1329). In group A play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Miles simply enters with “weapons by him” (G1<sup>v</sup> 1563). In total, the calls for weaponry props can be seen in all the plays apart from one play from group A and one play

from group C.<sup>29</sup>

Household appliances are also common in the category of mimetic props. In group A, we can see the use of “a pot of wine,” a spade in *The Old Wives Tale* (C3<sup>r</sup> 453; D3<sup>v</sup> 712-3), a cup in *I Selimus* (G3<sup>v</sup> 1749; G4<sup>v</sup> 1839), and torches in *Three Lord and Three Ladies of London* (I3<sup>r</sup>). Similarly in group B play *King Leir*, a book, basket and table are called for (1440, 1466; 2091; 2177). In group C, props such as the “spits and dripping-pans,” a wand (*Orlando Furioso* E4<sup>r</sup> 949-50; F3<sup>r</sup> 1145), a bottle of beer and a piece of beef (*A Looking Glass* 2119) are summoned.

Interestingly, there are also a number of large stage properties in this repertory. In group A, usage of a hearse can be seen in *Clyomon and Clamydes* (F3<sup>r</sup> 1449), two coffins are summoned to carry the bodies of Mahomet and Zonara in *I Selimus* (E4<sup>v</sup> 1257), a “well” is required in *The Old Wives Tale* (744-5, 751-2, 760-1) and three “stones” are carried out for the three ladies to sit on in *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (I1<sup>r</sup>). The use of trees can also be seen in group A play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (E4<sup>r</sup> 1197-8; E4<sup>v</sup> 1214; F1<sup>v</sup> 1280) and group C play *Orlando Furioso* (572). Other large props can also be found in group C such as an arbour and thorn in *A Looking Glass for London and England* (C2<sup>v</sup>) and a tomb in *The Scottish History of James IV* (A3<sup>r</sup> 3).

The basic function of mimetic props and costumes is to indicate situations and a character’s social status and, moreover, transform stages into a more specific location. For example, accessories such as crowns or sea gowns (*King Leir* G4<sup>r</sup> 1991-2) indicate

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<sup>29</sup> These are *I Selimus* and *Three Ladies of London*. For a detailed account of the weaponry properties in group A, see “Property Bills” in Appendix A.

the character's social rank or profession. A simple change of costumes or furniture onstage, the occasion shifts from outdoor to domestic, battlefield to court, or from the well of life to a graveyard.

For instance, *The Scottish History of James IV* opens with the discourse between Oberon the King of the fairies and Bohan the Scott who "dwellest in a Tombe & leaves the world" (A3<sup>v</sup> 41-2). The presentation of Bohan's dwelling at a grave is simply to place a symbolic tomb onstage:

*Musicke playing within.*

*Enter After Obero, King of Fayries, an Antique, who dance about a Tombe plac't conveniently on the Stage, out of which, suddenly starts up as they daunce, Bohan a Scot, attyred like a ridstall<sup>30</sup> man, from whom the Antique flyes.*

*(The Scottish History of James IV A3<sup>r</sup> 1-5)*

By removing the stage prop, the subsequent entrance of "the King of England, the King of Scots, Dorithe his Queene the Countesse, Lady Ida, with other Lords" quickly transforms the tomb into the royal Scottish court.

There are also a number of stage directions which simply indicate a location in the form of narrative without specific reference to either the spatial dimension or the props involved in staging such a location. These directions are therefore categorised as "diegetic" as they indicate locations that are mainly "described" instead of "shown" either in the stage direction or in the dialogue.<sup>31</sup> Directions of this category are abundant in plays from group A. To begin with, reference to a "sanctuary" (C3<sup>r</sup>) in *The True Tragedy of Richard III* first appears in a stage direction:

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<sup>30</sup> According to Thomas Wilson's *Art of Rhetorique*, "among the man of Tinsdale & Riddesdale where pillage is good purchase, and murdering is coumpted manhood" (qtd. Lavin, *James IV* 5). The reference to a ridstall man, possibly a man from Riddesdale, would possibly mean a man who has "a wild and ferocious appearance" (Lavin, *James IV* 5).

<sup>31</sup> See Introduction 24-5.

“Enters the mother Queene, and her daughter, and her sonne, to sanctuarie” – a location that is later clarified in the Queen’s dialogue with the Cardinal as she questions him whether he will “breake Sanctuary, and bring in revels to affright us thus” (D3<sup>r</sup>). Other examples also include the “well” in *The Old Wives Tale* which is referred to in two stage directions (D4<sup>r</sup> 774; D4<sup>v</sup> 785) and also mentioned by Santyppa: “My father hath sent me to the well for water” (D4<sup>r</sup> 747-8). Friar Bacon’s study is simply cued as “the study” (C4<sup>r</sup> 633) in a stage direction in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and is further elaborated as Bacon introduces the place to Prince Edward as his “cell” where he “tempers . . . many toys” (C4<sup>r</sup> 634-5).

In addition, a number of “symbolic” stage properties can also be observed in this repertory. For instance, in a group A play *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, Sorrow enters and sets the three ladies “on three stones on the stage” (D1<sup>v</sup>). The ladies appear to be prisoners of Sorrow as a consequence to their sinful deeds in *Three Ladies of London*. Conscience’s weeping stone “is set Remorse in brazen letters,” Love’s “Charity” in lead and Lucre’s “Care” in golden letters (D2<sup>v</sup>) as a reminder and a symbol of where their true virtue should lie. Similarly in another group A play *The Old Wives Tale*, a “well of life” is recorded in the stage directions from which a head appears with “eares of Corne” (E4<sup>r</sup> 972-3) and reappears “full of golde” (E4<sup>r</sup> , 983-4). *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* also demonstrates elaborately such usage of symbolic properties. As the play reaches its conclusion, the emperor enters in a stage direction “with a pointless sword” symbolising mercy, followed by King of Castile “carrying a sword with a point” symbolising justice, Lacy, “carrying the globe” symbolising earthly power, Edward “carrying a rod of gold with a doue on it” signifying equity and finally Ermsby “with a crowne and Sceptre” as symbols of

power (11<sup>r</sup> 2074-9; Lavin 92).<sup>32</sup>

Although a large number of stage directions found in this repertory indicate a rather flexible style of spatial practice suitable for a travelling company as a lot of the stage directions refer to portable objects or items easily acquired such as chairs and tables as well as fictional locations that are often self-explanatory in the dialogue, it is important to note here that the presence of large properties – a hearse, two coffins, three stones, a tree and a well from plays in group A and an arbour and tomb from plays in group C – does not necessarily comply with the logical assumption of a company that travels vast and lightly. In fact, not only does the spatial indication in the Queen's Men's repertory resemble those used to reconstruct playhouses architecturally that were associated with the London-based companies, the stage properties required by the Queen's Men do not appear more portable (either in terms of quantity or volume) as one would have assumed due to their impressive records of travelling.

In *Shakespeare's Speaking Properties*, Frances Teague's reconstruction of property bills of every Shakespearean play comes to a conclusion of an average of thirty-four props per play (197). In Andrew Sofer's essay on "Properties" in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, he similarly demonstrates the busy traffic on stage due to the high demand of stage properties. His analysis of *The Alchemist* (forty-three properties) and *The Tempest* (forty-seven properties) shows how crucial props are to both of these King's Men's plays – despite their thematic and generic differences – in conjuring up "Jonson's grittily realistic London interior or

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<sup>32</sup> For a detailed account of these symbolic properties in plays from group A, look at the property bills in Appendix A.

Shakespeare's 'uninhabited island'" (564). If we look at the properties required in the Queen's Men's plays, we will find the number on their property bills similarly high.<sup>33</sup> For example, in group A, *The Old Wives Tale* – a rather short play consisting of merely 1170 lines – calls for as many as thirty-eight stage properties. In *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, at least thirty-six items are required for performance. In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, thirty-three stage props appear if we only count Friar Bacon's many "toys" and the "weapons" by Miles as one item each. In addition, although some of the group A plays require fewer props such as *Clyomon and Clamydes* (twelve items) and *I Selimus* (ten items), the presence of large props (a hearse and two coffins) in these play-texts makes it clear that the stage properties required by the Queen's Men are not necessarily more "portable" for the sake of travelling than the properties indicated in repertories of other London companies such as the King's Men.<sup>34</sup> In short, if Ostovich, Syme and Griffin are right to call for an awareness that "any play written within . . . the dimensions of the Rose in mind also had to be flexible enough to work in all kinds of radically different set-ups" as "all adult companies continued to tour the country throughout Elizabeth's reign" (2), the vague spatial indications in play-texts of this period can inform us little of any specific architectural or scenographic elements of an early modern theatre.

### **Spectacles and Spatial Allegory**

What stands out more in this repertory perhaps is a spatial practice in favour of an allegorical and didactic style of narrative which can be observed not only in the

<sup>33</sup> Property bills of plays from group A can be found in Appendix A.

<sup>34</sup> It is worth pointing out the number of items listed in the property bills could be at times misleading. For instance, in *1 Selimus* – a play that requires scenes of battle and torturing the captured – no weaponry properties are listed not because they are not necessary but simply because the stage directions often merely indicate the action but not the properties involved (672-3; 1200-1; 1431).

symbolic stage properties such as the stones of care and remorse in the group A play *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* but also in the frequent calls for spectacle. Stage directions of this kind include the use of fire, flame, thunder and lightning as well as supernatural figures such as the call for a dragon in a play from group A *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* as well as the three speaking heads in two group A plays *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *The Old Wives Tale* and a group B play *Alphonsus King of Aragon*.

To begin with, these spectacular stage directions are similarly succinct and give us little clues to how the effects could have been achieved.

#### --- *Fire and Flame*

In terms of the use of fire and flames, as Dessen and Thomson have noted, although these directions are “often very descriptive,” they do not “indicate exactly what is meant or how the effects were achieved” (92). In their list of examples from twenty-nine plays written between 1580 and 1642, the stage directions of fire and flame can be further put into four categories:

1. Performed with a prop or dummy figure, from which the fire is cast out.
2. Projected from a certain part of the stage, usually hidden, such as the flames of fire from beneath the Stage.
3. Objects or figures that are discovered or enter the stage “on” fire.
4. Domestic or ritual, where characters make a fire onstage or use fire in the forms of a “torch or brand” to brighten.

Examples from the Queen’s Men’s repertory in cueing fire and flame are mainly from the first two categories where fire and flames are usually used for cueing



entrance/exit or existence of certain supernatural power.

In terms of the presentation of “a flame of fire,” these instructions do not suggest how the effect may be or may have been implemented. They, however, as Philip Butterworth notices, seem to imply that the playing company “require the ability to target fire in some sort of controlled way” (5). In stage directions found in group B such as *Alphonsus King of Aragon*, the fire is cast out from “a Brazen Head” which is “set in the middle place behind the Stage” (*Alphonsus* F1<sup>v</sup> 1246-8). Similarly, in a group C play such as *A Looking Glass for London and England*, fire is required to be projected from “beneath” the stage (*A Looking Glass* E4<sup>r</sup>). In a group A play *The Old Wives Tale*, the stage direction for this special effect is less specific as it is difficult to say if the instruction “A voice and flame of fire: Huanebango falleth downe” (D2<sup>v</sup> 670) suggests the fire should come from beneath where Huanebango takes his exit.

Other examples can be found in another group A play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. For instance, when the German magician Vandermast asks Bungay to “prove” his art by some instance, Bungay promises to show him “the tree leavd with refined gold / Wheron the fearfull dragon held his seate / That watcht the garden called Hesperides, / Subdued and wonne by conquering Hercules” (E4<sup>r</sup> 1191-5). In the subsequent stage direction, Friar Bungay “coniures and the tree appeares with the dragon shooting fire” (E4<sup>r</sup> 1197-8). We know, from Bungay’s speech, that the tree is covered with “gold” leaves and a dragon appears to take his seat on it. It is also clear in the instruction that the company would need some equipment to produce fire and cast it out from a dummy dragon or an actor dressed as a dragon in a more or less controlled way. However, the stage direction does not specify how the dragon and the tree enter the stage (whether they descend from above, arise from

below, or are thrust out from behind or either side of the stage), nor does it explain what kinds of machinery could be involved in achieving such an effect.

### --- *Lightning as Fire*

As Dessen and Thomson notice, the usage of fire and flame are sometimes replaced by the signal of “lightning” (92). Examples from outside the Queen’s Men’s repertory can be seen in the annotated quarto of *A Looking Glass for London and England* in which “the bookkeeper’s ‘lightning and bolt’ precedes the printed ‘a flame of fire appeareth from beneath, and Radagon is swallowed’ (E2<sup>v</sup> 1230-1),<sup>35</sup> which suggests that at least in some instances fire and lightning were synonymous, as does ‘with a sudden Thunderclap the sky is one [or on] fire’ (*Captain Thomas Stukeley* 2456-7)” (Dessen and Thomson 92).

Examples of lightning “usually occur together” with thunder (Dessen and Thomson 230) and there are in total thirty-eight examples out of more than 500 plays written between 1580 and 1642. According to Leslie Thomson, directions for thunder alone appear “twenty-nine times” and they sometimes mean both effect, “indicating the primary importance of the *sound* in the cue, whereas there are only five plays with a call for *lightning* alone and these refer specifically to flashes of fire” (Thomson 16). Her analysis of thunder and lightning comes to a conclusion that there seems to be a general emphasis on the audio effect over the visual when such a direction is carried out. However, one of these five examples which prioritise the visual instead of the audio is the stage direction of “a lightning flasheth forth” in the Queen’s Men’s group

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<sup>35</sup> As discussed previously, the promptbook cannot be considered as a part of the Queen’s Men’s repertory. See Chapter Three 112-4.

A play *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and may suggest the use of fire when the Queen's Men attempted to achieve the effect of lightning.

In general, the occurrence of thunder and lightning is rather common in this repertory. In addition to *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, this can also be observed in a number of occasions from all three lists of plays: group A (*The Old Wives Tale* 500), group B (*King Leir* 1635, 1739) as well as group C (*A Looking Glass* C2<sup>v</sup>; *Edward I* 2429). It is worth pointing out again that none of the examples from this repertory specify the machinery involved in performing the effect of thunder and lightning.

#### --- *Historical Account on the Effect of Fire*

Instead of focusing merely on stage directions, Philip Butterworth, in *The Theatre of Fire*, sheds some light on how these effects might have been achieved by drawing evidence from records and eye-witness accounts. According to him, although some of the requirement for the achievement of fire and flame can be quite simple, "others are more demanding and do not immediately suggest ways in which they were or could have been implemented" (*Fire* 1). He suggests, "the simplest and most ubiquitous of effects was that produced by the 'squib'" (*Fire* 2) to achieve effects of "casting" or "shooting" fire, as "[a] number of mid-sixteenth century accounts of such use occur, for example, in references to the *Lord Mayor's Show* in London" (*Fire* 1) as well as in some play-texts, such as Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* and James Shirley's *The Doubtful Heir* (*Fire* 142). He further suggests that gunpowder was also used for such kinds of "fizzing sparks" effects which can be observed in "the well-known requirement expressed in the early fifteenth-century

stage plan of *The Castle of Perseverance*" (*Fire 2*).

In addition, Butterworth demonstrates another interesting account which suggests the materials involved when producing the effects of fire casting from an object, such as the brazen head, dragon and the hellmouth in *Henslowe's Diary*. According to him, "The *Drapers' Repertory* for June 1541 records payment "for a gallon of 'aqua vyte' to burn in the dragon's mouth" (*Fire 15*). A similar payment is also "recorded in the *Revels Account* for 1552-3 as "one pottle of aquavite for the pageaunt of ma[r]ce and to burne in other properties. ij<sup>s</sup>," and in this instance "the aquavitae . . . seems likely to have been used to fire the dragons mouth" (Butterworth, *Fire 15*).

As Butterworth suggests, the use of fireworks, gunpowder and certain kinds of fuel or liquor such as the gallon of the "aqua vyte," might be employed to achieve effects in staging plays, such as *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* when a stage direction records "the tree appears with the dragon shooting fire" (E4<sup>f</sup> 1197-8).

However, it is questionable whether such a technique is shared by all playing troupes, whether it is applicable to all playing venues (indoors and outdoors) and, most of all, how commonly such kinds of machinery are employed in early modern professional theatres, as a large percentage of evidence Butterworth uses is from accounts of civic pageants and guild plays.

Although there is no specific indication of displaying fireworks in the Queen's Men's plays, references from contemporary stage directions can be found in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* – appearing on stage as early as 1592 but not in print until 1604. In the A-text of *Doctor Faustus*, a stage direction records "a devil dress[ed] like a

woman, with fireworks" (595-6) and similarly in B-text a cue for "Mephostophilis with fireworks" (1487) appears. A "squib" is also mentioned once in the A-text of *Doctor Faustus* when signaling Mephostophilis to enter and set "squibs at their backs" (1012-3). The play was staged twenty-five times by the Admiral's Men between Oct 1594 and Oct 1597 according to *Henslowe's Diary* (19-22). Although it is not unlikely that the Queen's Men were familiar with the use of squibs as fire since they have performed with Sussex's Men in April 1594 at Henslowe's Rose, what we can gain from the plays themselves give us little clues of how these special effects could have been achieved by the royal company.

#### --- *Spectacles and Speaking Heads*

A more specific and idiosyncratic form of spectacle in the Queen's Men's repertory is the requirement of a "brazen head" which only appears in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* from group A and *Alphonsus King of Aragon* from group B and the usage of a "head in the well" in a group A play *The Old Wives Tale*.

The use of "heads," either a severed head or the head of an animal, is common in play-texts written between 1580 and 1642 (Dessen and Thomson 112). However, the unusual aspect of the brazen heads as well as the head in the well, apart from their unique and unprecedented appearance in only these three plays, is that these supposed stage props are also required to "speak." For instance, the "brazen Head" in *Alphonsus King of Aragon*, as the text informs us, "is a representation of 'Mahomet,' before which the two Priests and King Belinus kneel in order to focus their dialogue with 'Mahomet'" (Butterworth, *Magic* 103). It occurs in the subsequent stage directions:

*Let there be a brazen Head set in the middle of the place behind the  
Stage, out of the which, cast flames of fire, drums rumble within,*  
(F1<sup>v</sup> 1246-8)

*Speake out of the brazen Head.*  
(F2<sup>r</sup> 1268)

In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, the “monstrous head of brasse” is made by Friar Bacon to “tell out strange and vncouth Aphorismes” (G2<sup>r</sup> 1582). The stage directions are as follows:

*Enter Friar Bacon drawing the curtaines with a white sticke,  
a booke in his hand, and a lampe lighted by him, and the  
brasen head and Miles, with weapons by him.*  
(G1<sup>v</sup> 1561-3)

*The Head speakes* (G2<sup>v</sup> 1615)

*Heere the Head speakes; and a lightning flasheth forth,  
and a hand appeares that breaketh down the  
Head with a hammer*  
(G2<sup>v</sup> 1635-8)

Both plays indicate the portability of the brazen head and where it should be placed. Similarly, in *The Old Wives Tale*, as the stage direction signals the head in the well to come up “with eares of Corne” and “full of golde” (E4<sup>r</sup> 972-3; E4<sup>r</sup>, 983-4), the head with a stage prefix “Voyce” speaks to Zelanto:

Gently dip: but not too deepe;  
For feare you make the goulde beard to weepe.  
...  
Faire maiden white and red,  
Combe me smoothe, and stroke my head:  
And thou shalt haue some cockell bread.  
Gently dippe, but not too deepe,  
For feare thou make the goulde beard to weep.  
Faire maide, white, and redde,  
Combe me smooth, and stroke my head;  
And euery haire, a sheaue shall be,  
And euery sheaue a goulden tree.  
(E4<sup>r</sup> 974-982)

The stage directions and the dialogues in these plays indicate that the head speaks,

but they do not specify how these heads “produce sounds.”<sup>36</sup> All the evidence from play-texts of the early modern period which indicates a speaking head, cited either in Butterworth’s work as well as in Dessen and Thomson’s *Dictionary of Stage Direction*, appears mainly in the Queen’s Men’s repertory.<sup>37</sup>

The only example of a speaking head outside the Queen’s Men’s repertory can be found in Dekker’s 1612 edition of *If It Be Not Good, the Devil is in It*, in which a “golden Head” takes part in considerable amount of conversation with Shackle-soule and Scumbroath. The Epistle of the play, as Chambers points out, “tells us that after ‘Fortune’ (the Admiral’s) had ‘set her foote vpon’ the play, the Queen’s had ‘raised it up . . . the Frontispice onely a little more garnished’” (3: 297). Such a reading further leads John Twyning to a conclusion that the play was intended for Prince Henry’s Men (originally Admiral’s Men), but was turned down and taken up later by Queen Anne’s Men (previously known as Worcester’s Men) at the Red Bull theatre as indicated on the title page of the printed 1612 edition (*DNB*). As such an effect appears very rarely in early modern plays, the spatial practice of presenting spectacles through a speaking head was perhaps transferred when the Queen’s Men’s plays were passed on to later companies. Since plays and players are mobile

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<sup>36</sup> Philip Butterworth in *Magic on Early Modern Stage* suggests that the sound production through artificial figures could be achieved by the use of pipes. Examples of evidence he quotes include William Bourne’s *Inuentions or Deuises* (1578), which records the employment of some “trunckes of brasse or other mettall” to convey sound to a brazen head (104), as well as John Baptista Porta’s *Natural Magick*, first printed in 1589 and translated from Italian in 1658, which also suggests the use of long “leaden Pipes” to pass sound from one end to another. In addition, Butterworth suggests that “a further method that makes use of sound from another source . . . is that produced by ventriloquy” (108). He reasons, as the speaking heads in the three plays are all in conversation with other characters onstage – the Priests in *Alphonsus*, Miles in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and Zelanto in *The Old Wives tale*, their presence by the heads could be advantageous for the actors to apply the technique of ventriloquy to speak with as well as “for” the heads (109-110).

<sup>37</sup> This finding perhaps suggests that the Queen’s Men specialised in producing sounds through a dummy figure. If Butterworth’s assumption of ventriloquy holds some truth, it might imply that some actors in this troupe are also ventriloquists. However, as Butterworth acknowledges, it is important to note that “stage directions either require sound to come from an object/location or to *seem* to come from one” (111). The precision of producing such an effect, thus, is not necessarily vital when the characters onstage directly speaks to the staged heads and it is easy for the audience to understand that the voice, no matter where it comes from, is intended for representing the heads.

entities, the style of the Queen's Men's plays may have taken by the companies who have inherited their repertory. The title page of the 1594 edition attributes the play to the Queen's Men but the title page of its later 1630 quarto describes the play "[a]s . . . lately plaied by the Prince Palatine his servant," a company that was patented in 1613, succeeding Prince Henry's Men. On 14 December 1602, Henslowe in his account noted a payment made by the Admiral's Men to Thomas Middleton to write "a prologe & epeloge for the playe of bacon for the corte" (Foakes., *Henslowe's Diary* 207). If these records hold any truth, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* became a part of the Admiral's Men's repertory sometime in 1602. If indeed Dekker intended *If this be not a good play, the Devil is in it* for Prince Henry's Men (the previous Admiral's Men), it is probably not too far-fetched to assume that such an intention was influenced by the spatial practice of the company whose repertory included at least one of the Queen's Men's "spectacle" plays.

However, it is also important to point out that since two out of four spectacles of a speaking head are found in plays written by Robert Greene, the rarity of this kind of spatial practice could be also a result of authorial idiosyncrasy – an unusual dramatic illusion that stands out from this "shared language" of early modern theatre personnel (Dessen, "Stage Direction as Evidence" 243-4).

If we look mainly at the play-texts associated with the Queen's Men, unless specifically indicated, it is difficult to say when, where or how such spectacles may have been achieved. Apart from the implied machinery, what these "spectacular" stage directions reveal, analogous to the "symbolic" stage directions discussed previously, is an allegorical and sometimes didactic style of narrative.



### Allegorical Spatial Practice

Visual allegories, as demonstrated earlier, can be observed in various symbolic properties found in this repertory such as the use of a blunt sword in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and the three stones for the ladies to sit on in *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*. Such allegorical spatial practice is further reinforced by the use of spectacles.

In *The Old Wives Tale*, a play from group A, the uses of fire occurs when Huanebango is struck deaf by Sacrapant and “falleth downe” whilst a “flame of fire” is cast out (670). Similar uses of this kind of allegorical stage directions also occur when Delya’s two brothers encounter the conjurer and “falles down whilst it “lighten & thunders” (500). Fire, flames and lightning and thunders are directly associated with the Conjurer’s supernatural power throughout this play. The connection between the spectacle and the supernatural is also revealed in a direction in which Sacrapant “removes a turfe, and showers a light in a glass” (512) and reveals to Dylea: “See here the thing which doth prolong my life/ With this enchantment I do anything/ And till this fade, my skill shall still endure” (513-5). Although most of the characters fail to defeat Sacrapant, Eumenidies is able to overcome the conjurer’s power only with the assistance of the ghost Jack whom he helps bury previously. During their encounter with the conjurer, it is Jack who enters “invisible, and taketh off Sacrapants wreath from his head, and his sword out of his hand” (1011-3) and, in Sacrapant’s dying speech, he questions “What hand invades the head of Sacrapat/ What hatefull fury doth envy my happy stage” (1014-5)? The play concludes with the defeat of the conjurer as the knight “windes the horne” signaling Venelia – the neither maid, wife nor widow – to enter and “[break] the glass, and [blow] out the

light" (1051-3) and in such a symbolic gesture Sacrapant's tyranny is put to an end.

Another group A play *The Troublesome Reign of King John* can also demonstrate examples of such visual allegory. Although the stage properties required in this play are comparatively little, an attempt of the spectacular is called forth in a stage direction: "There the five moons appeare" (I: G2<sup>v</sup>). Albeit presumably visually impressive, this stage direction is particularly unspecific. "There" could refer to "heaven" (Forker 214; *I Troublesome Reign* G2<sup>v</sup>) but other possibilities cannot be ruled out. The only clue from the dialogue is that the moons are in some sort of motion and that the smallest moon "whirles about the rest" (I: G3<sup>r</sup>). Some suggestions have been made about the staging such as the involvement of "some sort of mechanical illuminant" (Lawrence 259) and devices to lower the moons down from above with wires (Forker 214); however, it remains unclear how such a spectacle could have been achieved. What this potentially fantastical stage direction reveals again is not the device which could have been involved in the Queen's Men's performance but the allegorical nature of the phenomenon. As Forker points out, the "five moons" were based on Holinshed (214) but Peter's interpretation that follows the stage direction was an invention by Peele. As the prophet answers to King John,

PETER. The skie wherein these moones have residence  
Presenteth Rome the great metropolis  
Where sits the Pope in all his holy pomp.  
Foure of the moones present foure provinces,  
To wit, Spaine, Denmarke, Germanie, and Fraunce,  
That beare the yoke of proud commaunding Rome,  
And stand in feare to tempt the prelates curse.  
The smallest moone that whirles about the rest,  
Impatient of the place he holds with them,  
Doth figure foorth this island Albion,  
Who gins to scorne the Sea and state of Rome,  
And seekes to shun the Edicts of the Pope.  
(I: G3<sup>r</sup>)

The allegorical meaning of the spectacle is clearly seen as a positive one as John expresses his relief: “it seemes the heavens smile on us, / Giving applause for leaving of the Pope” (I: G3<sup>r</sup>) instead of as ominous as Pembroke’s previous remark “The heavens frowne upon the sinfull earth” (I: G2<sup>v</sup>). In addition, Peter has also clarified how this heavenly sanction of John’s decision to break from the Pope has nothing to do with his subsequent prophecy of the imminent dethronement of John which is based “on some *other* knowledge” (I: G3<sup>r</sup>; my italics).

Similarly, allegorical spectacles of this kind frequent another Queen’s Men play from list A: *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. The play, heavily involved with Friar Bacon and his magic, often requires the hero to display his magical skill. He shows Prince Edward through his “glass” the marriage ceremony between Lacy and Margaret and at Edward’s request interrupts the wedding at a distance. He transports the tavern hostess from one place to another and wins against Vandermast in a magic contest. His most important magical achievement can be seen in his creation of a head of brass which is supposed to tell “vncouth Aphorismes” (G2<sup>r</sup> 1582). The spectacles involved in this play include the use of a dragon, a brazen head as well as the use of fire and lightning at various occasions. Although Friar Bacon’s magic is portrayed as his ability to impress and “[honor] England with [his] skill” (F1<sup>v</sup> 1284), the harmful effects are also shown throughout the play. He interrupts a marriage which will eventually come to a happy ending. His seven years of effort to create a brazen head “that will speak through diabolical inspiration is frustrated by his need for sleep and by the inability of his comic servant, Miles” (Bevington 133). His looking glass also leads to the catastrophe of letting the two sons of Lambert and Serlsby witness the rivalry and death of their fathers, and subsequently they kill each other in desperation and despair (H1<sup>r-v</sup>). Eventually, the association of Bacon’s magical

ability with the malignant, and sometimes diabolical, influences of his power leads the hero to a realisation that “This glasse prospective worketh manie woes” (H2<sup>r</sup> 1861) and that he must have offended “the holy name of God” (H2<sup>r</sup> 1878). In order to “End all [his] magicke and [his] art at once,” Bacon “breakes the glasse” (H2<sup>r</sup> 1864, 1869) – a physical as well as symbolic gesture – to repent and to show his resolution to “spend the remnant of [his] life/ In pure deuotion, praying to my God” (H2<sup>v</sup> 1892-3).

We can also find such allegorical spatial practice from plays in group B and C. To begin with, in *King Leir*, after Perillus and Leir persuade the murderer to quit the idea of killing them, a stage direction cues “It *thunders*. [The murderer] quakes, and lets fall the Dagger” (1739; my italics). As Perillus observes, the murderer is apparently moved by his “feare of the *almighty power*” (*King Leir* 1722), and he further interprets such a result as the will of “The King of heauen” (1745). The significance of “thunder” here is its function as an intervention of the murder. Although it is not necessarily an embodiment of a supernatural force, it is certainly imagined as one by the characters on stage.

Examples of allegorical spatial practices from list C can be seen in *A Looking Glass for London and England*. Immediately after Radagon’s mother Samia invokes the “heavens” with their “eternall powers” to “sway the sword of justice” and “power downe the tempest of your direfull plagues, / Upon the head of cursed Radagon” (E4<sup>r</sup>), a stage direction records that Radagon is “swallowed” by “a flame of fire” from beneath the stage. Although the stage direction does not record the device involved in producing the effects, it reveals an allegorical narrative when the treacherous Radagon is “punished” by some providential intervention. Such spatial

practices can also be found in Peele's *Edward I*. After Queen Elinor mercilessly instructs Katherina to bind Maris in a chair (2328) and "let the Serpent sucke his fil" (2330), her next entrance is accompanied by "thunder and lightning" (2429). In response to Elinor's obvious distress, Jone preaches to her mother and interprets such a phenomenon as a result of her "blaspheming and other wicked deeds" which "caused our God to terrifie your thoughts, and call to minde your sinfull fact committed against the Maris" (2435-8). Such an association between the allegorical and the spectacular is further reinforced by the subsequent action. Immediately after Queen Elinor denies the accusation and proclaims "Gape earth and swallow me, and let my soule sincke downe to Hell if I were Autor of that womens Tragedy" (2448-50), she literally "sinckes" (2450) as her daughter observes "oh she is suncke, and here the earth is new closde vp againe" (2451). And such divine intervention occurs again as the Queen "riseth out of the ground" on Charring green (2528-9). Given a second chance, Elinor asks the Potter's wife to conduct her to the court where she "maie bewaile [her] sinfull life, and call to God to save [her] wretched soule" (2552-4).

To sum up, what we can be more certain with these stage directions, rather than the implied machinery, is their connection with the supernatural in the allegorical and narrative spectrum and a trend of drama that seems to favor a didactic style of narrative. By focusing on the spatial codes in the Queen's Men's repertory, we discover the rare usage of three "speaking heads" which could have referred to a specific prop or technique the company acquired and specialised, and perhaps found its way to a later company through the revival of the Queen's Men's old "brazen Head" plays. However, it is important to point out, apart from the speaking heads, the implied physicality of the Queen's Men's plays is comparable to the spatial codes

found in the repertoires of playing companies with a permanent foothold in London. In short, the spatial codes many historians apply to reconstruct London playhouses could be similarly employed in a repertory that required flexibility to adapt to a rather mobile company like the Queen's Men. What these stage directions suggest, therefore, is not the physical structure of a stage where these plays could have been performed, but perhaps a shared theatrical vocabulary that indicates the basic movement of characters or stage props and varies occasionally due to authorial idiosyncrasy.

Eventually, Dessen and Thomson's assumption of the presence of "a shared theatrical vocabulary" is perhaps a safe one. The problems of this kind of theatre reconstruction through play-texts lie not only in the fact that the means to decode such a theatrical convention in order to reconstruct the architectural and scenographic aspects of an early modern theatrical space are inevitably lost to us, but also the fact that performance exists in an artistic form distinctive from the literary genre of a play-text. As I have demonstrated, the Queen's Men, being an established company who appeared to have toured and performed in various venues vigorously throughout their career, resembled the London residential companies in terms of the spatial requirement indicated by the "spatial codes" in their repertory. Although we could perhaps assume that the dramas of this period were generally flexible and adaptable to different venues, we could also argue that the physical and theatrical signifiers in play-texts are not specific enough to be treated as substantive evidence for an architectural reconstruction, and similarly argue that these plays were not necessarily written to fit any particular performance venue. If we attempt to reconstruct an early modern theatrical environment based "almost exclusively upon the evidence within the plays themselves" (Dessen, *Elizabethan*

*Stage Conventions* 19), we can at best speculate, through rigorous interpretation, a generic and far from specific kind of theatrical space. And in the case of the Queen's Men's plays, it becomes particularly difficult because not only does the implied spatial codes provide inconclusive evidence to their practice, no regular venue is associated with this professional playing troupe. Eventually, what the "spatial codes" implied in the Queen's Men's play have revealed is the dramaturgic style of the plays instead of physical evidence that can help us reconstruct an early modern performance or venue.

As my main purpose is to search for the various forms of theatrical space in play-texts as well as the relationship between texts and space, after failing to see the link between play-texts and a reconstructable architectural aspect of performance space, I will in the next chapter turn my focus to the para-textual materials in order to see the extent to which the notions of space can be created through the typography and mise-en-page of a printed play-text and the way in which a printed text can be associated with performance and theatrical space.

## Chapter Four

### Space in Typography: Theatrical Title Pages, Woodcuts and the Case of Thomas Creede

Since “[t]he play is neither a record of actual performance nor an exact prescription or scoring for future performance,” Worthen challenges us to reconsider “[h]ow the book encode[s] the drama, and teach[es] us to decode print as theatrical *play*” and, more importantly, “[h]ow we should regard the print form of plays as a means of encoding the drama, of representing its molten performance, *theatrical play*” (“Prefixing” 213). The issues Worthen has raised regarding the relationship between play-texts and theatrical performances as well as this “troublesome interface between writing, print and performance” (“Prefixing” 213) are at the heart of the discussion in this chapter. Instead of looking at play-texts as a source of spatial codes for a three-dimensional theatre reconstruction, this chapter will look at how the concept of a theatrical space can be seen as a result of the choice of typography and layout of a play book and examine the degree to which this “interface between writing and performance” (Worthen, “Prefixing” 228) – the materiality of a printed play – shapes our imagination of the theatre.

The methodology adopted in this chapter is influenced by a trend of scholarly approaches which has a similar emphasis on the materiality of the book of the play. In her introduction to *Reconstructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission*, Maureen Bell demonstrates and argues that new meanings can be explored if we look at the ways in which literary texts have been transmitted to the reader. A recent trend of academic research has also shifted the focus from decoding stage directions and dialogues from play-texts to the study of typography and para-textual material of the books themselves under the premise that the relationship between



play-texts and theatre, if not necessarily encoded in the signifiers of the play-text, is to an extent created by the printers and booksellers in order to create a potential market. The most important theory in this trend of criticism lies in the assumption that the design and layout of a printed (play)book are often motivated by a sense of commercialism – whether they will prompt to sell more books. Such works include Zachary Lesser’s “Typographic Nostalgia: Play-reading, Popularity and the meaning of Black Letter” (Straznicky 99-126), Tiffany Stern’s theory of theatrical title page as a result of playbills in “‘On each Wall / And Corner Post’: Playbills, Title-pages, and Advertising in Early Modern London,” and Paul J. Voss’s “Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan Period” with extensive discussion on title pages and advertising in the early modern book trade – arguing that the increasing demand for title page advertisement suggests that the patronage of book buyers gradually replaces the need for royal patronage in the early modern book trade (733-756). Diane K. Jakacki’s “‘Canst paint a doleful cry?’: Promotion and Performance in *The Spanish Tragedy* Title-Page Illustration” in the recent *Early Theatre*, further suggests the significance of the printer’s role in advertisement by demonstrating how an illustrated dramatic title page such as that of *The Spanish Tragedy* could be associated with an early modern performance.

In addition, Holger Schott Syme’s work “Unediting the Margin: Jonson, Marston, and the Theatrical Page” also has an impact on this current approach by heightening our awareness of how the usage of marginalia on stage directions in Jonson and Marston’s works demonstrates the authors’ attempt to reinvent themselves with “a complex visual system of printed theatricality” (170) and how Jonson, from the 1600 edition of *Every Man out of his Humour* to the 1631 edition of *The New Inn*, “follows a clear-cut and straightforward trajectory driven by the author’s motivation of

transforming theatre into literature” (170). Similarly, Marino’s argument in *Owning William Shakespeare: the King’s Men and their Intellectual Property* is also important in the study of para-textual material. According to him, “[t]o place Shakespeare’s name on a text . . . was to assert identity between the play one owned and the play the King’s Servants currently performed” (128). His argument similarly reinforces the importance of the para-textual materials on a theatrical title page, since, in addition to the commercial values of title page advertising, Marino further demonstrates how the Kings’ Men attempted to protect their interest by building the connection between a play and their leading actor/playwright on their theatrical title pages.

In short, the increased scholarly attention towards the materiality of the book often sees new ways to explore the link between a literary play-text and the early modern theatre. Therefore, in the following section, I will endeavour to examine such a speculation and the extent to which the relationship between a play book and theatre practice can be created by different typographical designs. And as I will demonstrate, although there seems to be an attempt from the early modern stationers to associate the book of the play with the theatre, such a connection when revealed in a printed play-text often fails to provide us a representational view of a particular performance or performing venue. By looking at theatrical title pages of professional plays in this period, a specific case of the woodcut of the 1630 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* as well as the theatrical output of a printer/publisher, Thomas Creede, I hope to demonstrate what stationers visualised and imagined through the para-textual materials of the books is by no means a theatrical space that could be reconstructed architecturally and scenographically but instead a spatial practice that is primarily driven by dramaturgy.

### **Theatrical Space and Theatrical Title Pages: Printers' and Publishers' Role**

As theatrical title pages have been often associated with early modern printers' or publishers' attempt to promote their plays, in the following section, I will examine the way in which printers and publishers associate them with early modern theatre as well as the kinds of theatrical space that were presented on early modern theatrical title pages.

The modern sense of a publisher, as textual scholars have pointed out, however, is an anachronistic usage for the early modern book trade (Farmer and Lesser 78). What we would encounter, instead, were terms, such as "printers" – "who owned the type and the press" and "physically manufactured the book" mostly for others (Blayney 389), and "booksellers" – someone who "owned or worked in a retail bookshop" (Blayney 390).<sup>38</sup> The term "publisher" is often employed in the study of the early modern book trade, because it is used to identify the "prime mover" (Blayney 391) between the printer and bookseller – the person who "acquire[d] the text, paid for several hundred copies of it to be manufactured and sold them wholesale" and "whose investment was at risk if the public decline to buy the book" (Blayney 391). Either a printer or bookseller by profession, the term "publisher" usually refers to a member of the Stationers' Company, the one who procures "the right to copy" – the "rights only to print and reprint a particular work" and "prohibit competitors from printing not only a particular book but also any books that might tend to interfere with the sale of that particular book" (Lesser 30). Therefore, in the subsequent discussion, this term will also be employed especially when referring

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<sup>38</sup> Sometimes, a printer also owned a shop to retail his books, such as Thomas Creede.

to a stationer who made entries in the Stationers' Registers or when he or she was identified as the "prime mover" of a particular play book.

The most direct evidence that points us towards the printers' hand in advertising through title pages is probably Jonson's words to his bookseller in his 1616 *The Works*:

Thou, that mak'st gaine thy end, and wisely well,  
Call'st a booke good, or bad, as it doth sell,  
Use mine so, too: I give thee leave. But crave  
For the lucks sake, it thus much favour have  
To lye upon thy stall, till it be sought;  
Not offer'd, as it made sute to be bought;  
Nor have my *title-leaf on posts, or walls,*  
*Or in cleft-sticks,* advanced to make calls  
For termers, or some Clarke-like serving-man,  
Who scarce can spell th'hard names; whose knight lesse can.  
If, without these *vile arts*, it will not sell,  
Sent it to Bucklers-bury, there 'twill, well.

(3T1<sup>v</sup>-3T2<sup>r</sup>; my italics)

As Jonson entreated his booksellers not to employ the "vile art" by putting his "title-leaf on posts, or walls, or in cleft-sticks" but instead let his book "be sought" (Farmer and Lesser 77; Stern 78), he showed no attempt to conceal his contempt for the baseness of "post-advertising" (Stern 78) but, more importantly, his complaint is seen as a crucial piece of evidence that suggests the common practice among printers and booksellers to use such a "vile art" to promote book sales (Farmer and Lesser 77; Stern 78). Subsequently, under such a premise, the information provided on theatrical title pages is seen as a tool to attract potential buyers, and those that include details of playhouse practices are further treated as the stationers' attempt to create a relationship between the book and the theatre so as to target a certain type of audience.

Evidence of such speculation on the publisher's role in relating play books to

playhouses perhaps can be most easily observed when theatrical title pages include company, theatre and generic attribution as well as the indication of the history of a play in production. However, as I will subsequently demonstrate, although there were clear attempts to associate plays with theatres and playing companies, the actual association of a play book with a performing space on theatrical title pages through verbal and visual means is less frequent and far less specific and hardly representational of early modern playing spaces.<sup>39</sup> In terms of company and theatre attribution on theatrical title pages, from the first surviving printed drama<sup>40</sup> to the Restoration, out of the total 1115 theatrical title pages, 441 include an attribution to a commercial company and 385 indicate the venue of performance (Farmer and Lesser 80).<sup>41</sup>

Statistically, a high percentage of theatrical title pages include company attribution between the building of the Theatre in 1576 and 1660: about 60% of title pages indicate playing companies (Farmer and Lesser 83). Comparatively, the number of title pages including attribution to theatrical space fluctuates dramatically.

According to Lesser and Farmer's analysis which include all plays printed between 1576-1642, none of them include such a feature before 1590 and the number of plays with a reference to an indoor and outdoor venue increases roughly from 10% each decade onwards until reaching the peak of 60 % in the mid of 1640s (83). This brief account suggests that play books printed during 1594 and 1642 are more likely to be associated with a playing company than with a theatrical space, and the

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<sup>39</sup> The title page association between play-texts of a professional adult company and an indoor or outdoor venue did not appear until the 1608 editions of *Richard II*, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *King Lear*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. If we also include plays associated with boy companies, the earliest title page that referred to an indoor and outdoor venue is the 1601 edition of Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*.

<sup>40</sup> 1 & 2 *Fulgens and Lucrece* is the first surviving printed drama printed in 1512 (Farmer and Lesser 111)

<sup>41</sup> Farmer and Lesser's statistics derived largely from Greg and *The Annals* and only count the number of title pages. For instance, a play book without a title page will not be included in the calculation and the title page of collections of plays and plays in collection would be separately counted (110-111).

indication of performing venue becomes more common only after 1600 and sees a major leap into 60 percent in the 1640s. As Lesser and Farmer reason, “the need to locate a company with a theatre became more urgent” partly because of the increased number of companies performing at multiple venues; for instance, the King’s Men started to perform at both the Globe and the Blackfriars after 1609 and from 1616 to 1625 more playing troupes moved between the Red Bull and the Cockpit (84-5). In the result of my search on *Database of Early English Playbooks* (DEEP) for plays that include key words such as “played”<sup>42</sup> or “acted” on their theatrical title pages – an indicator of the play’s association with theatre and performance – 317 out of 574 editions of theatrical title pages associated with professional adult companies are found between 1576 and 1642.<sup>43</sup> This statistic also appears to agree with Lesser and Farmer’s claim that play books printed in a later period are more likely to include reference to a theatre, company and performance history on their title pages – none of the plays printed between 1576 and 1580 include such wordings (i.e. played or acted), two out of six plays printed between 1581 and 1590 and sixty out of ninety-one plays between 1591 and 1600 are printed with such a reference to performance. For instance, on the title page of the 1594 edition of *A Knack to Know a Knave*, the play is advertised as having “sudrie tymes bene played by ED. ALLEN and his companie.” The 1598 edition of *The Scottish History of James IV* and the 1591 edition of *The Troublesome Reign of King John* were “publikely plaid.” However, it is important to note that although theatrical title pages advertise the playing companies, theatre venues and at times the history of the productions, the links between a play book and early modern playing business are not specific or detailed enough to provide us a representational

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<sup>42</sup> The keywords used here are modernised but the search has included the equivalent variants such as “playd,” “plaid,” or “plaide.”

<sup>43</sup> The statistics include title pages of collections of plays as well as individual title pages in collections.

view of a theatrical space reconstructable architecturally or scenographically as what we have in the end are the play-texts themselves not the details of the venues that are associated with them.

In addition, according to the result of my search on *DEEP*, 354 out of 574 records of theatrical title pages – those associated with professional adult playing companies during 1576 and 1642 according to *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700* – contain generic attribution. However, it is worth pointing out that although generic attribution appears common on play books printed between 1576 and 1642, it cannot be treated as a reliable link between the play books and theatre. As Berek points out, although the function of generic terms seems to “have had an effect . . . on the perceived status of play,” the link between generic attribution and theatre can be easily weakened by the fact that these terms are not exclusively used on theatrical title pages but also used as “metaphors in other texts” (Berek 173). It is important to note that generic references on early modern theatrical title pages are used inconsistently and not necessarily relative to “the shape of the plot” or the plays’ “literary meaning” (Berek 160). A famous example from the title page of *Cambyses* printed in 1570 can demonstrate this point (Berek 160). Whilst the play is described as “A lamentable tragedy mixed ful of pleasant mirth” on its title page, the running title refers to the play as a “comedy.” This can also be observed in the main plots in *The Scottish History of James IV* as well as the “Honorable Historie” of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* which appear totally “unhistorical.” The first part of the “tragical” reign of *Selimus* only depicts a tyrant who walks out of the play “unpunished” and shows no sign of an impending tragedy he might suffer if there is a sequel.

Looking at the statistics, we could gather a general sense of the early modern

stationers' tendency to highlight the relationship between play books and playing business from company attribution and the advertisement of the history of a play in performance. Generic attribution, albeit making common appearance on title pages, is not a reliable indicator of playhouse practice. However, the attribution of venues on theatrical title pages - the most direct link of plays and playhouses - is much less common than the other indicators of playhouse practice on theatrical title pages. None of the adult professional plays printed before 1600 include a specific reference to a playhouse. And although the association between a play and its history of production reminds us of another form of existence of this two dimensional text as performance, the sense of a theatrical space we can gather from a theatrical title page is far from specific and representational as it usually at most provides us the name of the venue and/or the name of the playing company.

In addition to the verbal illustration on theatrical title pages, another significant feature that may give us a glimpse of the early modern playing business is the use of visual representations, such as woodcuts and ornaments. They are often treated as a significant indicator of the stationers' attempt to associate a play book with the theatre. However, such a connection between pictorial representations on theatrical title pages and a playhouse practice is a rather unstable and unreliable one if we take the source of such kinds of illustration into consideration. On the title page of *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, a woodcut is presented with two figures, one pointing his elongated sword towards the other, with a background of some seven audience members who are seated on a raised platform. Although the presentation of the woodcut "suggest[s] some performance of an interlude in a hall or court," the illustration is apparently "taken from a work by Stephen Batman (or Bateman), *The Travelled Pilgrim, bringing News from all Parts of the World*" printed



in 1569 which “has been shown to derive from a much earlier illustration of the fifteenth century” and “has no reference to Wilson’s play” (Foakes, *Illustration* 164). The visual implication of a staged production in this case, a borrowed representation, perhaps to some degree associate the play book with performance and replaces the need to associate the play with theatre by advertising its performance history. Nevertheless, such a connection is a rather unreliable one and cannot be seen representational of an early modern performance.

If we look at the frequency of the usage of pictorial illustration, 88 out of 1115 theatrical title pages from 1512 to 1660 include the feature of woodcuts or engravings (Farmer and Lesser 80). According to my search result from *DEEP*, only 63 records of 31 titles of play books associated with adult professional companies between 1576 and 1642 are presented with such a feature. This calculation includes title pages from collections of plays, individual plays from collections as well as the two editions of Shakespeare’s Folio printed in 1623 and 1632 in which the portrait on both title pages is clearly unrelated to performance but functions more as an indication of Shakespeare’s authorial status. It is also important to point out that only 4 records of 2 plays relate to adult professional companies include pictorial presentation on their title page before 1600.<sup>44</sup> The majority of title pages with illustration occur in a later period, especially in the three decades between 1611 and 1642: 19 editions between 1611 and 1620, 17 editions between 1621 and 1630 and 18 editions between 1631 and 1642. In addition, it is not uncommon that the illustration on a theatrical title page shows hardly any connection to performance or the plot of the story. The woodcut of *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*

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<sup>44</sup> These include Robert Wilson’s 1590 edition of *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* and Marlowe’s 1590, 1593 and 1597 editions of *Tamburlaine the Great*.

mentioned earlier is a clear example and similar cases can be seen from the title pages of the two editions of *The Valiant Welshman* printed in 1615 and 1663. As Foakes points out, both woodcuts of *The Valiant Welshman* show a fully armed soldier on horseback, and although they appear appropriate to the theme of the play in which Caradoc is depicted as a valiant soldier fighting against numerous opponents, the two separate illustrations seem to be mainly “ornamental” as they could “as well be an illustration for a work on armour” and have no particular reference to the play or the stage (Foakes, *Illustration* 165).<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, pictorial representations on theatrical title pages are not always exclusively applied to the plays but also adopted in other books on the same subjects. For instance, the woodcut on the title page of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* printed in 1655 was also used earlier in an chapbook of the same subject and depicts a scenario not included in the play-text; similar examples can also be found from the illustrations on the title page of the 1615 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*,<sup>46</sup> the 1616 edition of *Doctor Faustus*, and the 1633 edition of *Arden of Faversham* which also appeared in the broadsheet ballads on these subjects (Levin 85).

In short, verbal demonstration especially company attribution may suggest that printers and publishers advertise play books by associating the plays with playhouse business. However, if we are looking for a more direct relationship between the

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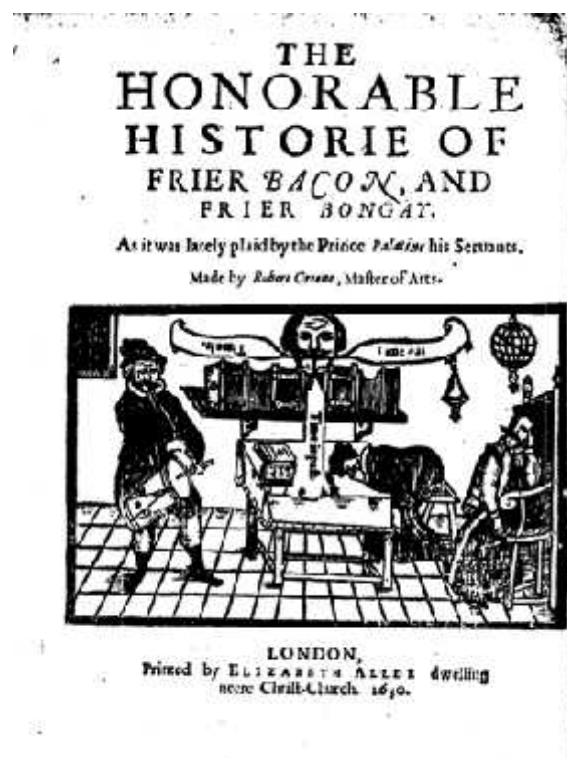
<sup>45</sup> Other examples such as the title page of *Englishmen for my Money, or A Woman will have her Will* can also be seen in Foakes' *Illustration to the English Stage 1580-1642*. The woodcut shows a woman in Elizabethan costume, but could refer to any of the three heroines in the play or one of the English suitors, Ned Walgrave, who is disguised as a woman. It does not seem to have a specific association with the play or the stage “apart from the general reference to the title *A Woman will have her Will* (Foakes, *Illustration* 166)

<sup>46</sup> The woodcut of *The Spanish Tragedy* is more likely intended for the play than the ballad as Foakes points out that the woodcut of the play appeared first in 1615 and should predate the undated ballad which is entered for Henry Gosson in the Court of the Stationers' Company in December 1624 (*Illustrations* 104-6). Jakacki further argues that although the depiction on the woodcut is an amalgamation of three separate moments in the play, it may still “hin[t] about how the play was staged at the time” (26).

play and a specific playing venue that is visually represented on the title page, the chances are much lower. And as I will subsequently demonstrate, the theatrical space imagined and presented by the printers/publishers through woodcuts is far less specific and hardly representational of early modern playing venues.

### **Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay and the 1630 Woodcut**

As pictorial illustrations on theatrical title pages were rare and none but two plays printed before 1600 include such a feature, it becomes intriguing when a visual illustration was used in the 1630s reprint of a play which was first published over three decades ago. Such is the case with the second edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, which appeared thirty-six years after its first edition, and contained a woodcut that seemed to depict the scene in which the brazen head speaks and a figure, presumably Miles resembling Richard Tarlton, the famous Queen's Men's Clown (Levin; figure 1).



(Figure 1: title page of the 1630 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*)



(Figure 2: title page of the 1594 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*)

The first edition of this play was printed in 1594 for Edward White and an entry in the Stationers' Register can be found in the same year on the 14<sup>th</sup> May with Adam Islip's name crossed out and replaced by Edward White. According to the Stationers' Register, the play-text was transferred to Edward Allde on 29 June 1624, but it was not until six years later that his widow Elizabeth Allde put the play into print with the woodcut that took up nearly half the size of the title page. The 1630 quarto, as J. A. Lavin, the editor of the New Mermaids' edition of the play, points out, was printed from "its immediate predecessor with minor normalization of grammar and spelling" (xxxii). In terms of the layout, both editions were mainly printed in roman type and italics was employed for most of the non-spoken text: stage directions, names of characters and speech headings. The major difference between them, therefore,

lies in the presentation of their title pages – a woodcut that replaced the printer’s device from Islip’s shop and the change of playing companies from “her Maiesties seruants” to “Prince Palatine his seruants.”

And as I will subsequently demonstrate, although there seems to be an attempt from the stationers to associate the book of the play with performance, the woodcut in question does not provide us a representational view of a particular performance or an actor, and nor could it provide us a reliable memorial reconstruction of the particular staging of a scene or the structure of a venue. The fact that the play-text has changed companies as well as printers complicates the association between the woodcut illustration and the Queen’s Men on stage. What further problematises this connection is that the illustration from the 1630 edition does not match the description in the play-text but instead represents what occurs in *The Famous History of Friar Bacon*, a chapbook that was presumably Greene’s source of the play (Levin 85).<sup>47</sup> And similar to the other illustrations on theatrical title pages mentioned earlier, the woodcut was not solely used on the title page of the play but appeared first on the title page of the 1629 edition of the chapbook.

It seems reasonable to assume that the woodcut was made for the *History* not the play because the three figures in the illustration simply fit better with the depiction in the *History* in which both Friar Bacon and Bungay fall asleep, and, Miles, in order

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<sup>47</sup> The chapbook was entered in the Stationers’ Register to Frances Grove on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1624. According to *ESTC*, the first extant *History* appeared in 1625 and seemed to be the second edition of the chapbook; another copy can be seen in the British Library which is dated 1627. The relationship between the extant chapbook *The Famous History of Friar Bacon* printed in 1625 and the first edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* printed in 1594 is complicated by the fact that we know little of the “lost first edition of the *History* that was Greene’s source [of the play]” (Levin 88). Although it must have been published before Greene wrote his play, presumably 1588-9, there is no evidence indicating how long before the lost edition of the *History* could have been printed or how it could differ from the extant editions (Levin 88). Diane Jackacki also suggests in her paper for the SAA in 2009 that the *History* was not necessarily the main and only source of the play; for instance, a reference to “Frier Bacon the Coniurer” occurred in *A defense of the Apologie of the Church of England* by John Jewel printed in 1567.

to keep himself from sleeping, “got a Tabor and Pipe” (C1<sup>v</sup>). In addition, the illustration of the woodcut appears rather distinctive from the scene in the play-text in which Friar Bungay is absent and Miles, instead of being furnished with a tabor and pipe, sits “by a post” (1609) and is armed with a “brown bill” (1613). It seems a logical explanation that Elizabeth Alde, a publisher as well as printer<sup>48</sup> of the 1630 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, in the preparation of the title page, conveniently adopted the illustration from the *History* which she was commissioned to print a year earlier for F. Grove – possibly how she obtained the woodcut in the first place.<sup>49</sup>

Although evidences show that the woodcut does not necessarily bear witness to the staging of the play, its relationship with the theatre is further complicated by the Miles figure in the illustration. According to Richard Levin, “the figure of Miles in this woodcut bears a striking resemblance to contemporary portrayals of Richard Tarlton, the famous clown” of the Queen’s Men who died in September 1588 (85). The image of Tarlton can be seen in the woodcut on the title page of *Tarlton’s Jestes* (the earliest extant text is printed in 1613) as well as in Harleian MS 3885, f.19, in the British Library, in which an elegy can be found on Tarlton’s death and is accompanied by John Scottowe’s drawing of the deceased actor (Foakes, *Illustration* 44-5).<sup>50</sup> It was also mentioned by Robert Wilson in *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*

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<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth Alde, who printed the second edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, also maintained the copyright of the play from her husband who died about 1628 until she assigned the right to her son-in-law in 1640. See the introduction to the Malone Society Reprint of the play (vi).

<sup>49</sup> The assumption that the woodcut may have remained in Elizabeth Alde’s printing house could be seen in Greg’s introduction to *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (MSR vi) as well as Foakes’ *Illustration of the English Stage 1580-1642* (126).

<sup>50</sup> The earlier theory regarding the portrayal of Tarlton usually puts more emphasis on the Scottowe’s drawing as an elegy claims that the drawing showing Tarlton as he was “When he in pleasant wise” (Foakes, *Illustration* 45), and the woodcut of *Tarlton’s Jestes* was based on Scottowe’s portrayal (Foakes, *Illustration* 44-5; Chambers 2: 344). Janet Backhouse, however, believes that “the book was made in the early 1590s, in the years immediately following Tarlton’s death in 1588” and “The Scottowe portrait probably came from a woodcut circulating soon after his death, perhaps as the decoration of a broadsheet” (Backhouse 13).

printed two years after Tarlton's death when Simplicitie showed Tarlton's picture and claimed to Will "if thou knewest not him, thou knowest no body" (C2<sup>r</sup>).<sup>51</sup>

However, the similarities between Miles and Tarlton, as Levin points out, not only lie in their features - "the round head, broad face, flattened nose, elaborate mustache, and small pointed beard" (85) - but go beyond the physical resemblances as Tarlton-like songs or poems<sup>52</sup> can be found in both the *History* and the 1594 quarto of the play (85-9). Although it is not impossible that Robert Greene and the author of the *History* may have written the role with Tarlton in mind, I find it difficult to overlook the fact that all of the extant publications – the 1613 edition of *Tarlton's Jestes*, the 1625, 1627 and 1629 edition of *The Famous History of Friar Bacon* and Greene's 1594 and 1630 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*<sup>53</sup> – appeared after Tarlton's death. My main concern here is not to do with whether Tarlton had influenced the authors when composing Miles' character, which image of Tarlton proceeded the other, or if the makers of the woodcuts and Scottowe saw Tarlton in his life time,<sup>54</sup> but to do with what triggered Elizabeth Allde and Francis Grove in terms of their choice of using the woodcut on their title pages for the 1630 quarto of the play and the 1629 edition of the chapbook.

As the resemblance in terms of their features is striking between the figure of Miles in Allde and Grove's title pages and the portrait of Tarlton in *Tarlton's Jestes* (Figure 3) and Scottowe's drawing, what advantage could Allde and Grove gain by associating

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<sup>51</sup> As Astington points out, the picture, indicated in a stage direction (C2<sup>v</sup>), "is likely to have been the real thing," and "cheap printed pictures of Tarlton were produced in this period" ("Rereading" 163).

<sup>52</sup> According to Levin, Tarlton is famous for his "'jestes,' which were short, witty, doggerel poems he composed extemporaneously on some topic or theme" (85).

<sup>53</sup> *Tarlton's Jestes* can be found in the Stationers' Register as early as 1600 (Astington, "Rereading" 163).

<sup>54</sup> This perhaps is even less important as none of the makers of Tarlton's image attempted a naturalistic portrait. In "Rereading Illustrations of the English Stage," Astington suggests that Scottowe could have seen Tarlton when the Queen's Men visited Norwich where Scottowe lived ("Rereading" 165).

Tarlton with their book through the woodcut on their title pages? Perhaps it is not surprising if Allde and Grove intentionally utilised Tarlton's fame to promote the sales of their books as this technique was also employed during the publication of *A Knack to Know a Knave* in 1594 whose title page, including a line – "With Kemps applauded merriments of the men Goteham in receiuing the King into Goteham" – similarly used the popularity of the comedian Will Kempe to entice buyers. *Kemps Nine Daies Wonder*, the only extant edition in 1600, also contains an illustrated title page depicting Kempe's performance of Morris dance from London to Norwich.

However, as Tarlton died nearly four decades before the woodcut was first introduced in the title page of the 1629 edition of the *History*, and such an image did not seem to tempt Edward White when preparing the title page for Greene's play in 1594 when this popular icon may have appeared more powerful to those who have seen Tarlton on stage, to promote the books by associating Greene's play and the *History* with Tarlton forty years after his death seems a rather peculiar choice. It has been suggested by Diane Jackacki in a paper written for the SAA in 2009 that both publishers were attempting to utilise such an image to appeal to their potential nostalgic buyers, as the figure of Tarlton, whether it resembled the actor himself or not, gradually became an image of nostalgia – a memorable past transformed by the booksellers into a commercial product. Although I agree with Jackacki that the use of such a woodcut could be seen as an attempt from the printers and booksellers to attract nostalgic readers, I would argue that such an image cannot be seen as a reconstructable or even representational "memorable past."





(Figure 3: title page of the 1613 edition of *Tarlton's Jests*)

To begin with, evidence indicating the significance of Tarlton's image can be found long after his death; most notably is Ellis's account in *History of Shoreditch* published in 1798 in which he claimed "His [Tarlton's] portrait, with tabor and pipe, still serves as a sign to an alehouse in the Borough" (qtd. Nugenzer 356).<sup>55</sup> From the signal of the stage property of Tarlton's portrait in Wilson's *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, the description of Tarlton's "squint eye" and "flat nose" in the *Jests*, registered on 4<sup>th</sup> August, 1600 (qtd. Nugenzer 354) to Henry Peacham's recollection of Tarlton's performance and his attention to the details of costumes as the prodigal son in *Truth of our Times* in 1638, it seems reasonable to assume that the significance of this popular icon seems to continue influencing generations even four decades after his death. And although this perhaps explains the printers' motive in using the image of Tarlton on the title page of the *History* in 1629 as well as the play

<sup>55</sup> Numerous references to Tarlton especially between the 1590s and 1630s can be also seen from the lists produced by Nugenzer in *A Dictionary of Actors* (347-365) and from Grave's article "Some Allusions to Richard Tarlton" in *Modern Philology* (18.9: 493-496).

in 1630 to attract nostalgic readers, it does not suggest that the stationers make a direct connection between the play-text and specific locatable performances. As my colleague Naoko Ishikawa argues, Tarlton's image was created and "mythologised" in writers' recollected accounts as well as printers' marketing technique in order to fit various writings and to demonstrate Tarlton's style of performance. However, like the biographical jest-book *Tarlton's Jest* which "appropriated a historical figure in order to put him through the process from which he emerged as a legendary figure" the much circulated image of the clown could perhaps only be "marginally related to the existing historical evidence of the real man" (Ishikawa 103).<sup>56</sup>

It is important to take into consideration, as Astington cautions, whether such illustrations on title pages always point to Tarlton ("Sanguine" 2-7). Although we have a substantial number of allusions to Tarlton in play-texts and nostalgic accounts of his performance that demonstrate his posthumous influence and popularity as his figure, features and style of performance become gradually textualised and mythologised in the 1590s, we have far fewer accounts to assume the extent to which his pictorial representation has been circulated after his death, and especially after the 1630s when the nostalgic textualised image of this clown figure has gradually faded away.<sup>57</sup>

In addition, although we could, to some degree, assume Elizabeth Alde's intention - using Tarlton's image to promote the sale of her books, Tarlton's appearance on these title pages does not really give way to information about the performance

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<sup>56</sup> A detailed discussion of the issue can be seen in Naoko Ishikawa's thesis "The English Clown: Print in Performance and Performance in Print."

<sup>57</sup> The jest-book tradition was very different before and after the 1630s. According to Naoko Ishikawa in "The English Clown: Print in Performance and Performance in Print," in the 1630s, the jesting heroes in the jest-book tradition become nameless and faceless as opposed to those who were frequently associated with Tarlton in the 1610s and 1620s (152-3).

either by the Queen's Men or other playing troupes who obtained the text. All the extant accounts suggest Tarlton's absence from the performance of Greene's play.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, if the Tarlton/Miles figure on the title page of the play and the *History* derived from the Scottowe drawing which itself was presumably copied from the woodcut of the *Jests*, the illustration of Tarlton would be an unlikely source of the representation of Tarlton himself and his style of performance because the woodcut of the *Jests* itself may have been a copy of a print "the sanguine temperament" by Heemskerck – made at least twenty-two years before Tarlton's death (Astington, "Sanguine" 3). A similar case can be seen from the 1633 edition of *Arden of Faversham* in comparison with the 1630 version of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. The transmission of the two play-texts appears identical as *Arden of Faversham*, entered to Edward White on the 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1592 in the Stationers' Register, was also transferred to Edward Allde on the 29<sup>th</sup> June 1624 and subsequently printed by his widow Elizabeth. Both of the plays were first published by Edward White without an illustrated title page, and reprinted nearly four decades after they were first introduced to the stage with a woodcut on the title page which can be more or less related to the theatrical representation of a scene or theatre personnel of the past. Out of the seven plays printed between 1630 and 1633, Elizabeth Allde only printed these two plays for herself and the presentation of the illustrated title page may possibly suggest the presence of a number of nostalgic play readers/buyers that prompted Elizabeth Allde to produce title pages with the picture of Tarlton and an illustration of a scene of play whose theatrical career may have been long gone.

Finally, although illustrated theatrical title pages can occasionally give us clues of the possible disposition of a scene, style of costumes, and, in the case of *Friar Bacon and*

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<sup>58</sup> See 153-5.

*Friar Bungay*, the posthumous influence of Tarlton, it is, as Foakes points out, difficult to determine the degree of significance of a woodcut and engraving and their relevance to the stage (*Illustrations* xvi). If Astington is right to point out that “[n]either the woodcut [of the *Jests*] nor [the Scottowe] drawing . . . is likely to be a very reliable representation of Tarlton himself” (“Sanguine” 3), the representation of Tarlton in the woodcut for Greene’s play and the *History* would be equally unlikely to help us with his physical appearance or his stage costume, despite the fact that its presence may suggest the clown’s posthumous significance. Ultimately, this theatrical space implied by this illustrated title page is a result of its printer and publisher’s interpretation of what their contemporary readers would imagine of a performance at least three decades ago. It is, perhaps, a visualisation that could at best represent a recollected, albeit not necessarily correct or specific, theatrical space – a space of nostalgia rather than representation or memory.

### **Thomas Creede and his Theatrical Output**

Although woodcuts in early modern play books provides us with only limited knowledge of early modern spatial practice, the frequent attempts to associate play books with playing companies and the history of performance through verbal and pictorial illustration suggest that early modern stationers were actively taking part in the creation of what Worthen would term “the interface between writing and performance” in order to help their contemporary readers to imagine this two dimensional printed play as something that could have also existed in another medium - performance. If Worthen is correct to call all editions “acts of interpretation” as they interpret “considerably more than the words on the page . . .

[p]articularly in the case of drama” in which “an interpretation of the purpose of the text tends to guide the representation of the ‘accidentals’ of design, typography, orthography, and punctuation, its ‘accessories’” (“Prefixing” 221), it is worth examining how and to what extent early modern stationers interpret and represent a playing business on theatrical title pages and in the layout of their play books. In this section, I will look into Thomas Creede and his theatrical output not only because he functioned both as a printer and publisher but also because he appeared to play a significant role in the year 1594 – a year in which more play books were registered and printed than ever before. Only Edward White registered as many dramatic texts as Creede (seven) in the 1590s and no one printed more plays than Creede between 1590 and 1604 (Syme, *Stationers* 28). Holger Schott Syme, in his recent essay “Thomas Creede, William Barley, and the Venture of Printing Plays” in *Shakespeare’s Stationers*, has argued:

[I]t seems unlikely that Creede could have been the self-made publisher of plays he might appear from the vantage point of the Stationers’ Register. (40)

He suggests that those entries were made by Creede mainly as William Barley’s “proxy” (*Stationers* 32) based on the fact that “a number of the books originally registered by stationers collaborating with Barley were transferred to Thomas Pavier in 1600, including *Famous Victories* . . . and *A Looking Glass*” (*Stationers* 32).

Although Syme’s argument could reduce the financial investment and overall influence Creede may have had on the plays he registered, I will subsequently demonstrate how Creede’s dramatic output exhibits an interesting pattern in terms of the layout of his play books and perhaps an awareness to distinguish the diverse dramaturgical devices within a play by means of typography. The following section will not only look at the advertising technique employed on his theatrical title pages but also examine the degree to which such a market-driven connection between a

play and playhouse practice could be extended to the typography and mise-en-page of his books.

### **Thomas Creede's Theatrical Title Pages**

Throughout his career, Creede printed 45 editions of 35 plays in total, if we include the three editions of Dekker and Middleton's *I The Honest Whore* printed in 1604 and 1605 (Weiss 64).<sup>59</sup> Although Creede shared printing with his fellow printers in some "small topical books which he must have been eager to finish off as quickly as possible," the majority of his books do not belong to that category (Yamada 57).<sup>60</sup> Thomas Creede was relatively systematic in terms of the pattern and technique of the layout of his play books and appeared to be aware of how a stage-page rapport would sell him more plays even though none of his play books include title page illustrations that can be related to either a theatre or a production.

Of those theatrical title pages printed by him, 27 editions of 21 plays include company attributions and 10 editions of 9 plays include references to the venues of performance.<sup>61</sup> This means that more than half of his play books indicate playing companies and at least a fifth of them, all printed after 1602, include theatre attribution. The significance of this statistics shows that not only can his theatrical

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<sup>59</sup> A list of plays printed by Thomas Creede is included in the Appendix C of Akihiro Yamada's *Thomas Creede, printer to Shakespeare and his contemporaries* (241-3). Andrew Weiss, drawing on new evidence, notes the increased output from Creede's shop by 29.5 sheets and the three extra editions of *I Honest Whore* printed partially by Creede (64). I have also included a list of plays printed by Creede in Appendix B which includes the three editions of *I Honest Whore* for reference.

<sup>60</sup> Among those 35 plays, only four have been identified as not solely printed by Creede: the 1604 edition of *The Magnificent Entertainment*, the 1604 and 1605 edition of *I The Honest Whore*, the 1606 edition of *Monsieur D'Olive* and the 1609 editions of *Pericles* (Yamada 47-9; Weiss 64). In terms of the theatrical title pages, Creede is responsible for printing most of them except for the 1609 *Pericles* and the 1604 and 1605 *I The Honest Whore*.

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix B.

title pages often be associated with playhouse practice, but that Creede appears accustomed to employing such kinds of verbal promotion of a stage-page relationship to sell more books.

The consistency in his printing technique can also be observed in his reference to the Queen's Men on all of his theatrical title pages as "her Queenes Maiesties Players" with one minor variant on the title page of *Clyomon and Clamydes* "her Maiesties Players."<sup>62</sup> In addition, all of his dramatic title pages are printed in Roman typeface, and, apart from *A Looking Glass for London and England*, *Menaechmi* and Lyly's *Mother Bombie*, the verbal illustration of the rest of the title pages all begin with a definite article "THE" in full capital. These capitalised THEs are invariably singled out and placed in the centre on the top of the page and are consistently cast in the second largest type on all of Creede's dramatic title pages printed before 1600.<sup>63</sup> For instance this can be seen from *The Scottish History of James IV* (Figure 4), *Clyomon and Clamydes* whose title begins with "THE HISTORIE OF/the two valiant Knights" (Figure 5) and *The True Tragedy of Richard III* (Figure 6). Such a presentation distinguishes Creede from his fellow printers such as John Danter, who seems to prefer printing "THE" in the largest type on his title pages which can be seen in "THE HISTORIE OF Orlando Furioso" printed in 1594 (Figure 7).

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<sup>62</sup> The specific choice of word "players" when Creede attributes the plays to the Queen's Men is opposed to Edward White's version "her Maiesties servants" in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. See Appendix B.

<sup>63</sup> Such format is still adopted until as late as 1616, but the consistency decreased after 1600. All of the Shakespearean plays Creede has printed appear with the fully capitalised "THE" on its own at the first line as the second largest type on their title pages apart from the 1602 edition of *Merry Wives of Windsor* and the two editions of *Pericles* printed in 1609.

THE  
SCOTTISH  
Historie of Iames the

fourth, flaine at Flodden.

Entermixed with a pleasant Comedie, prefaced by  
*Oboram King of Fayrires*

*As it hath bene sundrie times publickely  
playde.*

Written by *R. G. Green*, Maister of Arts.

*Comer into print.*



LONDON  
Printed by Thomas Creede. 1594.

(Figure 4)

THE  
HISTORIE OF  
the two valiant Knights,

*Syr Guyon Knight of the Golden  
Sheeld, sonne to the King of  
Denmarke:*

*And Clamides the white Knight, sonne to the  
King of Swabia.*

*As it hath bene sundry times Acted by  
Maister Playen.*

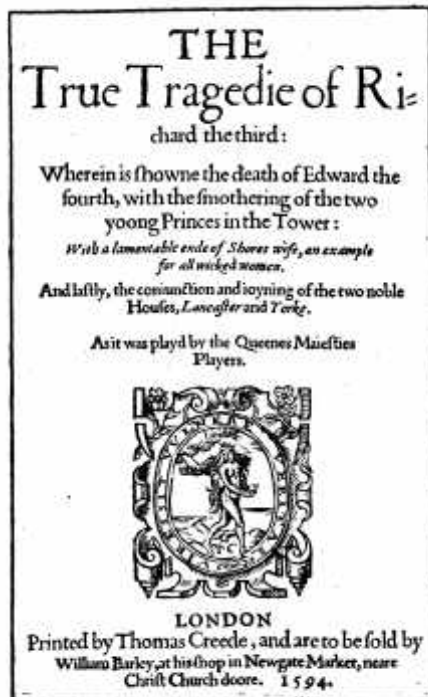


LONDON  
Printed by Thomas Creede.

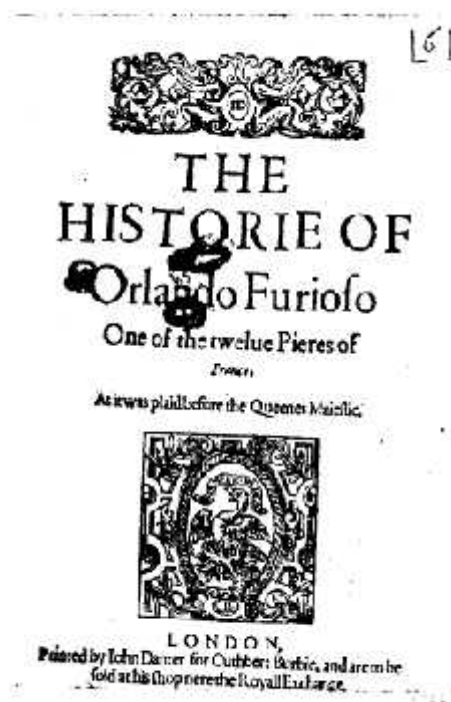
1594.

(Figure 5)





(Figure 6)



(Figure 7)

In terms of visual illustration, Creede has never attempted to include images on theatrical title pages to associate the play with performances. What he consistently

uses instead to decorate his title pages is a woodcut of a crowned naked figure with long hair and a scourge at her back surrounded by a decorative frame (figure 8). Creede's initials "T C" are inserted between the figure's feet and the surrounding motto "VIRESSIT [i.e. VIRESCIT] VULNERE VEROTAS" can be translated into "Truth wounded springs" (Yamada 251). Although this device does not indicate the book's relation to the theatre, it is consistently used on the majority of his play books and all of those printed before 1600 (including those printed in 1600, 19 editions of 18 plays). This ornament becomes his trademark as it sometimes replaces the need to state his name at the imprint which can be observed on the title page of Heywood's *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad* and Marston's *Jack Drum's Entertainment*.



(Figure 8: printer's device from Creede's shop)

To sum up, at least fifty percent of Thomas Creede's theatrical title pages are verbally connected with theatrical practice as they are frequently attributed to playing companies. However, in terms of title page attribution to a particular playing space, only four editions of five professional plays printed by him include such a feature.<sup>64</sup> And none of his play books include title page illustration that can be related to a venue or a production.

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<sup>64</sup> See Appendix B.

As I have demonstrated in Chapter Two, contemporary editors of early modern dramas play an important role in deciding how we read the plays spatially by editing, inserting and collating stage directions and other non-verbal texts. It becomes an interesting case if Creede shows a similar degree of consistency in the layout of his play-texts as we can observe in his theatrical title pages and if the mise-en-page of his play books could affect our perception of a play-text spatially. As Zachery Lesser cautions,

We cannot analyze the way in which books were marketed and sold, as though their meanings were predetermined and stable, without simultaneously discussing the shaping role of the book trade in creating these meanings. The publisher does not merely bring a commodity to market but also imagines, and help to construct, the purchasers of that commodity and their interpretations of it.

*(Renaissance Drama 17)*

Therefore, albeit without the help of a printer's copy and manuscript, the following section will endeavour to demonstrate how typographical features of a play-text decided either by its printers, compositors or publishers could determine and affect how we perceive a play theatrically, and how a stationer like Creede attempted to deal with spatial as well as dramaturgical issues typographically.

### **A Note on the Textural Variants in Creede's Play Books**

However, before I begin, it is perhaps worth pointing out that despite the fact that Creede shows an interesting awareness in dividing dramaturgical devices typographically, he differs from his fellow printers and publishers such as Andrew Wise and Thomas Pavier in terms of normalising and correcting parts of the

play-texts.<sup>65</sup> Massai has suggested a means to determine the input of these stationers in perfecting their copies for publication by identifying “patterns of textual variation in plays which were printed more than once, especially when they claim to be ‘newly perused and amended’ on their title pages” (10). Thomas Creede, in her studies, appears less involved in such interventions and leads her to a conclusion that he “would not normally invest time and effort to perfect his dramatic copies” (130). Her conclusion is drawn from Creede’s four reprints of the four quartos<sup>66</sup> of *Richard III* which have attracted scholarly attention to the major textual variants occurring in Q2 and Q3 including a few new stage directions and more significantly the alteration of the order of appearance of the ghosts in Act 5 Scene 4 (Jowett, *Richard III* 116). Both Massai and Jowett have agreed that Andrew Wise was more likely to be responsible for these textual variants “[a]s the stationer [Andrew Wise] issued both Q1 and Q2 and would in the usual course of things have owned the manuscript, Q2 may, exceptionally, have been corrected here from the copy for Q1” (Jowett, *Richard III* 154).<sup>67</sup> Massai’s analysis of the textual variants in the 1594 and 1598 editions of *A Looking Glass for London and England* published by Creede and the reprint of the second edition of Lyly’s *Mother Bombie* in 1598 also leads her to conclude that “no attempt was made to normalise or to add missing speech prefixes or to supplement the existing stage directions and dialogue” (104).

However, as I will subsequently demonstrate, although Creede appears to differ from Pavier and Wise in terms of textual intervention, the three copies of *A Looking Glass*

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<sup>65</sup> The discussion of the pattern of revision and annotation by Thomas Pavier and Andrew Wise can be found in Massai’s analysis of the Wise Quartos and the Pavier Quartos (91-135).

<sup>66</sup> These are Q2 and Q3 for Andrew Wise and Q4 and Q5 for Matthew Law.

<sup>67</sup> In Jowett’s footnote in *Richard III*, the responsibilities of these textual variants are attributed originally to Thomas Creede which initiates a counter-argument from Massai that can be seen in her *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (103). However, Jowett has confirmed in a conversation that the attribution in the footnote is indeed a mistake and he actually means to put “Andrew Wise” as the main contributor of these major textual variants. Therefore, I have revised the quotation here from “Thomas Creede” to “Andrew Wise” accordingly.

*for London and England* (two of which also registered/published by Creede) exhibit a distinctive pattern of mise-en-page and an awareness of the diverse theatrical and dramaturgical practices involved within a dramatic work which disappeared when the play was transferred to different hands.

### **A Looking Glass for London and England:**

#### **A Typographical and Narrative Space**

*A Looking Glass for London and England* was first published in 1594, and reprinted in 1598, 1602 and 1617.<sup>68</sup> Apart from the four extant editions, another distinct version with manuscript entries is currently preserved in the University of Chicago Library without the title page and records from the Stationers' Register to identify the year of its publication and its publisher/printer.<sup>69</sup> It was first entered in the Stationers' Register on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1594 by Thomas Creede, and subsequently published to be sold by William Barley (McMillin and MacLean 91; Yamada 116, 251). While Creede appeared to maintain the right of the second edition which was also printed to be sold by Barley, the right of the 1602 edition (Q3) was transferred to Thomas Pavier (Greg, *A Looking Glass* vi).<sup>70</sup> Q2 follows Q1 closely; Q3 again "follows its immediate predecessor closely but not page by page" (Greg, *A Looking Glass* v). Q5 printed by Alsop went back to Q2 printed by Creede in 1598 which probably shows that he ignored Pavier's right to the play as he was still in business

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<sup>68</sup> The 1594, 1598, 1602 and 1617 editions will be referred in the subsequent discussions as Q1, Q2, Q3 and Q5. The Chicago promptbook copy is referred to as Q4.

<sup>69</sup> See "The promptbook, Play-text, and Early Modern Performance" in Chapter Three 112-114

<sup>70</sup> This is used as evidence in Syme's argument which sees William Barley as the major contributor in the publication rather than Creede. See previous discussion in Chapter Four 158.

until 1625 (Greg, *A Looking Glass* vi).<sup>71</sup>

In terms of the four extant title pages, the verbal representations are mostly identical except for the variation of the names and dates in the section of imprint and some minor differences of spelling (i.e. England and Englande). The more distinct difference between title pages can be seen from the section of author attribution: both names were italicised in Q1 and Q5 in contrast with the presentation on the title pages of Q2 and Q3 as “Thomas Lodge” was made the second largest typeface while an italicised “*Robert Greene*” was produced in the smallest print. Such a differentiation between the font and size of the printed names of the two authors on the title pages of Q2 and Q3 appear to place a hierarchical order between the playwrights. The emphasis on Thomas Lodge is obvious, but it is inconclusive why such a decision made to sideline Greene on the title pages of Q2 and Q3 (Figure 9, 10).

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<sup>71</sup> Thomas Pavier is himself a rather controversial figure as his involvement in the publication of the ten Shakespearean and pseudo-Shakespearean quartos in 1619 may have marred his reputation as a publisher. Sonia Massai, however, in *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, proposed that these quartos were not printed against the King’s Men’s wishes, but were used to generate interest in Shakespeare’s plays – a way to generate demands from the consumers for more Shakespeare (107).

# A LOOKING

Glasſe, for London  
and Englande.

Made by Thomas Lodge

Gentleman, and Robert Greene.

*In Artibus Magiſter.*



LONDON  
Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be ſolde  
by William Barley, at his ſhop in  
Gracious ſtreete.  
1598.

(Figure 9: title page of Q2 A Looking Glass for London and England)

# A LOOKING

Glaſſe, for London  
and Englande.

Made by Thomas Lodge

Gentleman, and Robert Greene.

*In Artibus Magiſter.*



LONDON  
Printed by Thomas Creede, for Thomas Pauier, and  
are to be ſold at his ſhop in Cornhill, neare the  
Exchange, at the Signe of the Cat and  
Parots. 1602.

(Figure 10: title page of Q3 A Looking Glass for London and England)

To sum up, no attempt was made to specify the relation of this dramatic piece with the theatre. Both authors composed works other than plays, the title of the play has no generic reference to the theatre, and no history of the play's past productions is mentioned. However, the typography of the extant editions of *A Looking Glass for London and England* provides a quite interesting view on the use of theatrical space.

The common layout compositors (sometimes printers themselves) generally follow, which highlights the theatricality of a play book, is their uses of different typefaces or typefaces of different sizes to distinguish the spoken and non-spoken elements in the printed texts. Examples can be seen in a number of early modern play books printed mainly in roman typeface but reserving the part of stage directions to be printed in italics.<sup>72</sup>

Out of the extant editions of *A Looking Glass for London and England*, only Q5 printed by Alsop in 1617 is printed mainly in roman type, all of those printed by Creede are in black letter and the Chicago promptbook edition which followed very inaccurately from Q3 is also in black letter (Greg, *A Looking* vi). The significance of employing such a typeface lies in the fact that black letter becomes a rarity as "roman became the standard type for English books around 1590" (Mish 628-9) and the usage of such a typeface, as Lesser has argued, arouses the "desire in typographic nostalgia" ("Typographic Nostalgia" 120). And among plays printed by Creede, only one other play is printed mainly in black letter: *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. Although we can speculate that the use of such a typeface may be a promotional

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<sup>72</sup> Examples can be observed from 1594 edition of *Titus Andronicus* and the 1595 edition of *The Old Wives Tale* printed by John Danter, the 1599 edition of *Edward I* printed by William White, and the 1599 edition of *George a Green* printed by Simon Stafford for Cutburt Burby



gimmick to entice nostalgic buyers as Lesser suggested, the usage of black letter and roman typeface in the present editions of *A Looking Glass for London and England* demonstrates a very specific style of spatial distinction and, more importantly, an attempt to reflect theatre practice in typography despite the fact that no reference to specific playing spaces can be found on the theatrical title pages. Not only are the two typefaces used to distinguish the spoken and non-spoken elements of the play (i.e. dialogue verses speech prefixes and stage directions), they are also employed to distinguish more subtle dramaturgical devices employed in the play such as the use of a chorus, a framing device and the presence of different levels of diegesis (i.e. story worlds). And it is because of the employment of such typographical differences in Creede's *A Looking Glass for London and England*, readers are enabled to distinguish more easily the theatrical and performative elements (i.e. the theatrical action and staging) from the literary text.

To begin with, in the editions printed by Creede, although two compositors have been identified from the plays printed by Creede between 1594 and 1602,<sup>73</sup> the typographical features (i.e. the use of different typefaces) appear similar and consistent as a whole; as Yamada points out, "the style of centred entrance directions, character names and speech-prefixes [are] set in contrasting types" (193). As opposed to the majority of the play-text printed in black letter, the running title, speech prefixes, names of characters and all of the stage directions are mainly cast in roman.<sup>74</sup> In Q1 and Q2 of *A Looking Glass for London and England*, the stage

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<sup>73</sup> This includes George Walton Williams in "The printing of the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1599)" *Studies in Bibliography*, Thomas L. Berger in "The Printing of *Henry V*, Q1" *The Library* and Akihiro Yamada in *Thomas Creede: Printer to Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* 192-3. Yamada attribute the 1594 and 1602 editions to Compositor A and the 1598 edition to Compositor B (192).

<sup>74</sup> The use of Italics is applied more sparingly. The typeface is used when dialogue is in Latin (Q1 E4<sup>r</sup>, G4<sup>r</sup>, H2<sup>r</sup>, I2<sup>v</sup>, I3<sup>r</sup>) and when names of characters are introduced in the first entrance direction (Q1-Q3). Oseas' name is sometimes printed in Italics in speech prefixes and dialogues in all of the editions printed by Creede.

directions stand out even more from the dialogue, as the line immediately before and sometimes both before and after the entries are usually left blank. This feature disappears in the preparation of Q3 (also printed by Creede in 1602 but the right of the copy is transferred to Thomas Pavier) as most of the stage directions are crammed with the dialogue. No extra spaces are inserted either before or both before and after the stage directions from A3<sup>r</sup> to E1<sup>v</sup> apart from four exceptions (Q3 A4<sup>v</sup>, B2<sup>r</sup>, B4<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r</sup>). Although the rest of the layout follows the Q2 edition in 1598 more closely, the differentiation between the theatrical movement and literary dialogue appear less distinctive.

However, as consistency remained in the general distinction between the two typefaces on all editions printed by Creede, the differentiation between the roman and black letter typefaces still makes a very strong visual division between the spoken and non-spoken text, and such a distinction, to some extent, enables readers to distinguish the theatrical movement and staging cued by the stage directions from the literary text. In addition, the distinction between the typefaces does not only apply to the general division between dialogue and stage movement but also can be seen between different styles of theatrical representation (i.e. dumb shows, chorus, songs, long speeches and dialogues).

To begin with, a song by Aluida to the King of Cilicia is printed in roman in all three editions by Creede (Q1 G1<sup>v</sup>; Q2 G1<sup>v</sup>; Q3 F3<sup>r</sup>). The representation of her song appears distinctive from her dialogue with the King and can be seen in figure 11, 12 and 13).

K. C. I. I hope you mean not to to mock me;  
 Al. No king, faire king, my meaning is to yoke thee,  
 Heare me but sing of loue, then by my sighes,  
 My teares, my glaucing looks, my changed cheare,  
 Thou shalt perceiue how I do hold thee deare.  
 K. C. Sing againe if you please, but loue in iest,  
 Alud. Nay, I will loue, and sigh at euery rest.

*Song.*

Beautie alas! where wast thou borne?  
 Thus to hold thy selfe in scorne:  
 When as Beautie kist to wooe thee,  
 Thou by Beautie doest vndo mee.

Heigho, despise me not.

I and thou in sooth are one,  
 Fairer thou, I fairer none:  
 Wanton thou, and wilt thou wanton  
 Yeld a cruell heart to plant on?  
 Do me right, and do me reason,  
 Crueltie is cursed treason.

Heigho I loue, heigho I loue,

Heigho, and yet he eies me not. King.

(Figure 11: Q1 F4<sup>v</sup>)

K. C. I. I hope you mean not to to mock me;  
 Al. No king, faire king, my meaning is to yoke thee.  
 Heare me but sing of loue, then by my sighes,  
 My teares, my glaucing looks, my changed cheare,  
 Thou shalt perceiue how I do hold thee deare.  
 K. C. Sing againe if you please, but loue in iest,  
 Alud. Nay, I will loue, and sigh at euery rest.

*Song.*

Beautie alas! where wast thou borne?  
 Thus to hold thy selfe in scorne:  
 When as Beautie kist to wooe thee,  
 Thou by Beautie doest vndo mee.

Heigho, despise me not.

I and thou in sooth are one,  
 Fairer thou, I fairer none:  
 Wanton thou, and wilt thou wanton  
 Yeld a cruell heart to plant on?  
 Do me right and do me reason,  
 Crueltie is cursed treason.

Heigho I loue, heigho I loue,

Heigho, and yet he eies me not. King.

(Figure 12: Q2 F4<sup>v</sup>)

K. C. I. I hope you mean not to to mock me;  
 Al. No king, faire king, my meaning is to yoke thee.  
 Heare me but sing of loue, then by my sighes,  
 My teares, my glaucing looks, my changed cheare,  
 Thou shalt perceiue how I do hold thee deare.  
 K. C. Sing againe if you please, but loue in iest.  
 Alud. Nay, I will loue, and sigh at euery rest.

*The Song.*

Beautie alas! where wast thou borne?  
 Thus to hold thy selfe in scorne:  
 When as Beautie kist to wooe thee,  
 Thou by Beautie doest vndo mee.

Heigho, despise me not.

I and thou in sooth are one,  
 Fairer thou, I fairer none:  
 Wanton thou, and wilt thou wanton  
 Yeld a cruell heart to plant on?  
 Do me right, and do me reason,  
 Crueltie is cursed treason.

Heigho I loue, heigho I loue.

Heigho, and yet he eies me not.

(Figure 13: Q3 F3<sup>r</sup>)

The distinction between the styles of performance required (i.e. singing instead of

speaking) here is also shown in the differentiation between the typefaces. More interestingly, a similar division can also be observed in the typographical choices made for Oseas's speeches.

Oseas makes his first entrance by being "brought in by an Angell" and "set downe ouer the Stage in a Throne" (Q1 B1<sup>r</sup>; Q2 B1<sup>r</sup>; Q3 A4<sup>r</sup>; Q5 A4<sup>v</sup>). He has no direct relationship and makes no conversation with the characters in Nineveh, and functions mainly as the chorus as he regularly comments on the actions of other characters and preaches the audience to apply the lessons of the play to contemporary England. Examples can be seen when Oseas makes his remark on Radagon's attempt to console Rasni to woo a new wife immediately after Ramilia his queen is struck by thunder (Q1 C2<sup>v</sup>):

Pride hath his iudgement, *London looke about,*  
Tis not inough in shovv to be deuout,  
A Furie novv from heauen to lands vnknowvne,  
Hath made the Prophet speake, not to his ovvne,  
The wantons flie, this pride and vaine attire,  
The seales to set your tender hearts on fire.  
Be faithfull in the promise you haue past,  
Else God will plague and punish at the last.  
When lust is hid in shroude of wretched life,  
When craft doth dwell in bed of married wife.  
Marke but the Prophets, we that shortly showes,  
After death expect for many woes. (Q1 C3<sup>r-v</sup>; my italics)

Oseas's role, therefore, appears to make a rather different kind of impact on the audience from the rest of the characters in the fictional Nineveh either on stage or on the page. But what is most fascinating in the typographical representation of this character in Creede's editions lies in the fact that the typeface changes when Oseas alters his theatrical roles and styles of performance. And it is this subtle differentiation between the functions of a role and the levels of diegesis where this character resides which makes the distinction between the two typefaces more

interesting, for such a distinction not only highlights the diverse theatrical elements involved in a play but also demonstrates the degree of awareness that was required for the preparation of this play-text in print. For instance, when he functions as the chorus, the differentiation of the function of his role from other characters is also shown in the choice of typefaces as his speeches are mainly printed in roman as opposed to the dialogue of the rest of the characters which is normally in black letter (Figure 14, 15, 16).

*Wench, thy manners take thou of me, a cup-  
 trench, why alas! tis like an egge without salt,  
 without mustard.  
 Lead us to the Ale, wele haue trenchen enough I wele.*

*O fear, Iniquitie seekes out companions still,  
 And mortall men are armed to do ill:  
 London looke on, this matter nips thee neere,  
 Lense off thy ryot, pride and sumptuous cheere,  
 Spend lesse at boord, and spare not at the doore,  
 But aide the infant, and releue the poore:  
 Else feeling mercy being mercilesse,  
 Thou be aduadged to endlesse heauinesse.*

*Enter the Vfarer, a young Gentleman, and  
 a poore man.*

*Vfarer. Come on, I am every day troubled with these miserie  
 companions, what newes with you, what wind byings you hither.*

*Gent. Sir I hope how far soeuer you make it off, you remem-  
 ber too well for me, that this is the day wherein I should pay you  
 money that I took vp of you late in a commoditie.*

*Poore man. And sir, irreuerence of your manhood and gentel-*

(Figure 14: Q1 B3<sup>r</sup>)

*Clowne.* What's the matter now?  
*The being* I haue poundes the Ale, who is the pormous to; the  
 wenches, so; matters take this of me, a cup of Ale without a  
 wench, why shall we like an egge without salt, or a red herring  
 without mustard.  
*Lead us to the Ale, Lord.* haue wenches enough I warrant thee.

*Oseas.* Iniquitie seekes out companions still,  
 And mortall men are armed to do ill:  
 London looke on, this matter nips thee neere,  
 Leave off thy ryot, pride and sumptuous cheere,  
 Spend lesse at boord, and spare not at the doore,  
 But aide the Infant, and releue the poore.  
 Else seeking mercy, being mercilesse,  
 Thou be adiudged to endlesse heauynesse.

*Enter the Visurer, a yong Gentleman, and  
 a poore man.*

*Visur.* Come on, I am euery day troubled with these rascall  
 companions, what newes with you, what wind brings you hither?

*Gent.* Sir I hope how far sooner you make it off, you remember to well for me, that this is the day wherein I should pay you  
 money that I take up of you alate in a commodity.

(Figure 15: Q2 B3<sup>r</sup>)

## London and England.

*Oseas.* Iniquitie seekes out companions still,  
 And mortall men are armed to do ill:  
 London looke on, this matter nips thee neere,  
 Leave off thy ryot, pride, and sumptuous cheere,  
 Spend lesse at boord, and spare not at the doore,  
 But aide the Infant, and releue the poore.  
 Else seeking mercy, being mercilesse,  
 Thou be adiudged to endlesse heauynesse.

*Enter the Visurer, a yong Gentleman, and a poore man.*  
*Vis.* Come on, I am euery day troubled with these rascall  
 companions, what newes with you, what wind brings you hither?  
*Gent.* Sir I hope how far sooner you make it off, you remember to well for me, that this is the day wherein I should pay you  
 money that I take up of you alate in a commodity.  
*Poore man.* And sir, Circumference of your manhood and gentleness,  
 I haue brought home such money as you lent me.

*Visur.* You yong Gentleman, is my money ready?  
*Gent.* Truly sir, this time was is short, the commodity so  
 bad, and the promise oftentimes so broken, that I could not provide  
 it against the day, wherfore I am come to intreat you to stand my  
 client, and to fauour me with a longer time, and I will make you  
 sufficient consideration.

*Visur.* Is the time in that wise? if thou hast my money so it  
 is, I will not defer a day, an houre, a minute, but take the full pay  
 of the bond.

*Gent.* I will consider that no lesse was agreed by the

(Figure 16: Q3 B2<sup>r</sup>)

On the other hand, when Oseas changes his role and has interaction with another  
 character on stage, his remarks are printed in black letter: these include his  
 responses to the Angel who brought him unto the stage: "The will of the Lord be

done" (Figure 17: Q1 B2<sup>v</sup>, H1<sup>r</sup>; Figure 18: Q2 B3<sup>v</sup>, H1<sup>r</sup>; Figure 19: Q3 B1<sup>r</sup>, G4<sup>r</sup>), and "Lord" (Q1 H1<sup>r</sup>; Q2 H1<sup>r</sup>; Q3 G3<sup>v</sup>). Such a differentiation between the functions of the role and styles of performance in typography remains generally consistent in all three editions printed by Creede in 1594, 1598 and 1602 (i.e. Q1-Q3). The typographical distinctions in Creede's copies are perhaps made even more conspicuous when compared with Alsop's edition, printed in 1617 (Q5).

There shalt thou publish in her open streets,  
 That God sends before his hatefull wrath for sin,  
 On such as neuer heard his prophete speake,  
 Such rage will he inflict a waile of plagues,  
 On such as heare the sweetnesse of his voice,  
 And yet obey not what his prophete speake,  
 But the Oleea pining in the spirit,  
 The mightinesse of these sonne peoples sinnes,  
 Oleea. The will of the Lord be done,  
*Exit Angell.*

And preach unto the people of the God,  
 What mightie plagues are incident to sinne,  
 Unless repentance mitigate his ire :  
 Except in the spirit as thou wert hither brought,  
 Hee shall the in Iudeas psonners,  
 Feare not Oleea then to preach the waile.  
*Oleea. The will of the Lord be done.*  
*Oleea taken away.*

(Figure 17: Q1 B1<sup>v</sup>, H1<sup>r</sup>)

On such as neuer heard his prophete speake,  
 Such rage will he inflict a waile of plagues,  
 On such as heare the sweetnesse of his voice,  
 And yet obey not what his prophete speake,  
 But the Oleea pining in the spirit,  
 The mightinesse of these sonne peoples sinnes,  
 Oleea. The will of the Lord be done.  
*Exit. Angell.*

What talles vnto these curst Ninuities,  
 But shalt returne to great Hierusalem,  
 And preach vnto the people of the God,  
 What mightie plagues are incident to sinne,  
 Unless repentance mitigate his ire :  
 Empt in the spirit as thou wert hither brought,  
 He leate thee in Iudeas prouinces,  
 Feare not Oseas then to preach the word.  
 Oseas. The will of the Lord be done.  
*Oseas taken away.*

(Figure 18: Q2 B1<sup>v</sup>, H1<sup>r</sup>)

There that thou publish in her open streets,  
 That God sends downe his hatchfull wrath for sin,  
 On such as heere heard his Prophets speake,  
 Such moze will he inflict a world of plagues,  
 On such as heere the stoutnesse of his voice,  
 And yet obey not what his Prophets speake:  
 But the Oseas poyzing in the spirit,  
 The mightinesse of these foue peoples finnes,  
 Oseas. The will of the Lord be done. Exit Angell.  
 Enter the Clowne, and his crew of Ruffians,  
 to goe to drinke.  
 Ruf. Come on Smith, thou shalt be one of the crew, because  
 thou knowest where the best Ale in the Towne is.  
 Smith. Come on. in faith my collee. I haue left my shalffer

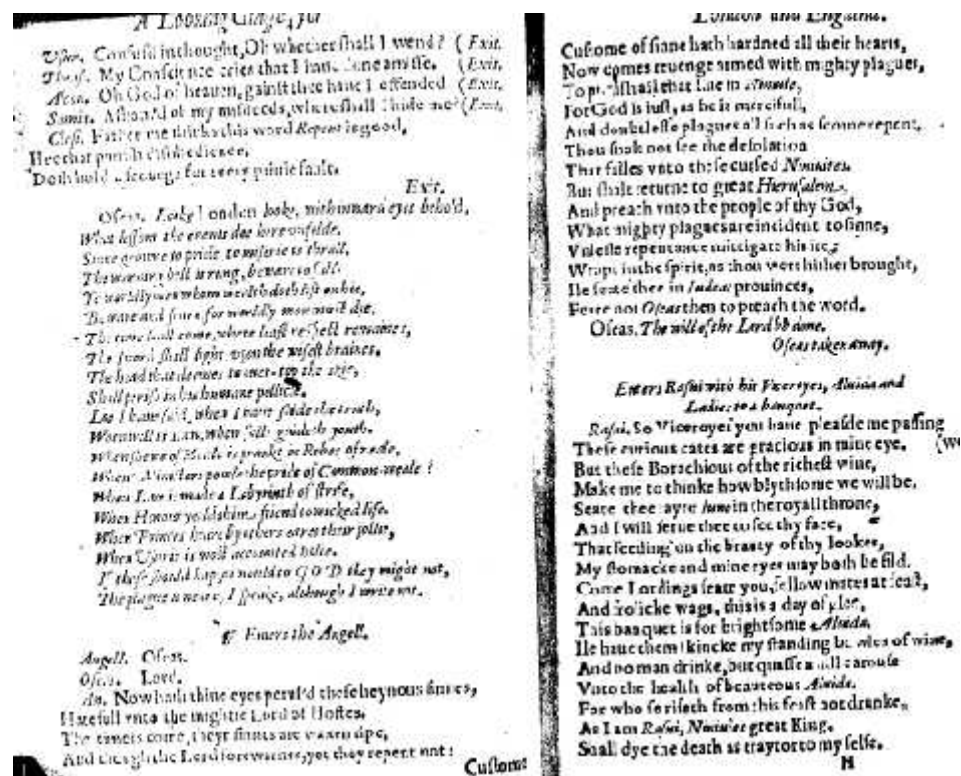
What talles vnto these curst Ninuities,  
 But shalt returne to great Hierusalem,  
 And preach vnto the people of the God,  
 What mightie plagues are incident to sinne,  
 Unless repentance mitigate his ire :  
 Empt in the spirit as thou wert hither brought,  
 He leate thee in Iudeas prouinces,  
 Feare not Oseas then to preach the word.  
 Oseas. The will of the Lord be done.  
*Oseas taken away.*

(Figure 19: Q3 A4<sup>v</sup>, G3<sup>v</sup>)

Although Alsop made a similar distinction by using “italics” for the non-spoken text (i.e. stage directions) and roman type for the dialogue, it seems to be a distinction he copied from Creede’s Q2 edition printed in 1598. Even though he appears to have followed Creede’s general distinction by printing most of Oseas’ responses to the



Angel “The will of the Lord be done” (Q5 B2<sup>r</sup>) and “Lord” (Q5 H1<sup>r</sup>) in roman type so as to separate them from the rest of his comments in italics, Oseas’s last remark to the Angel “The will of the Lord be done” (Figure 20: Q5 H1<sup>v</sup>) was left in italics. This may have been a mistake by Alsop when following Creede’s previous version.



(Figure 20: Q5 G4<sup>v</sup>-H1<sup>v</sup>)

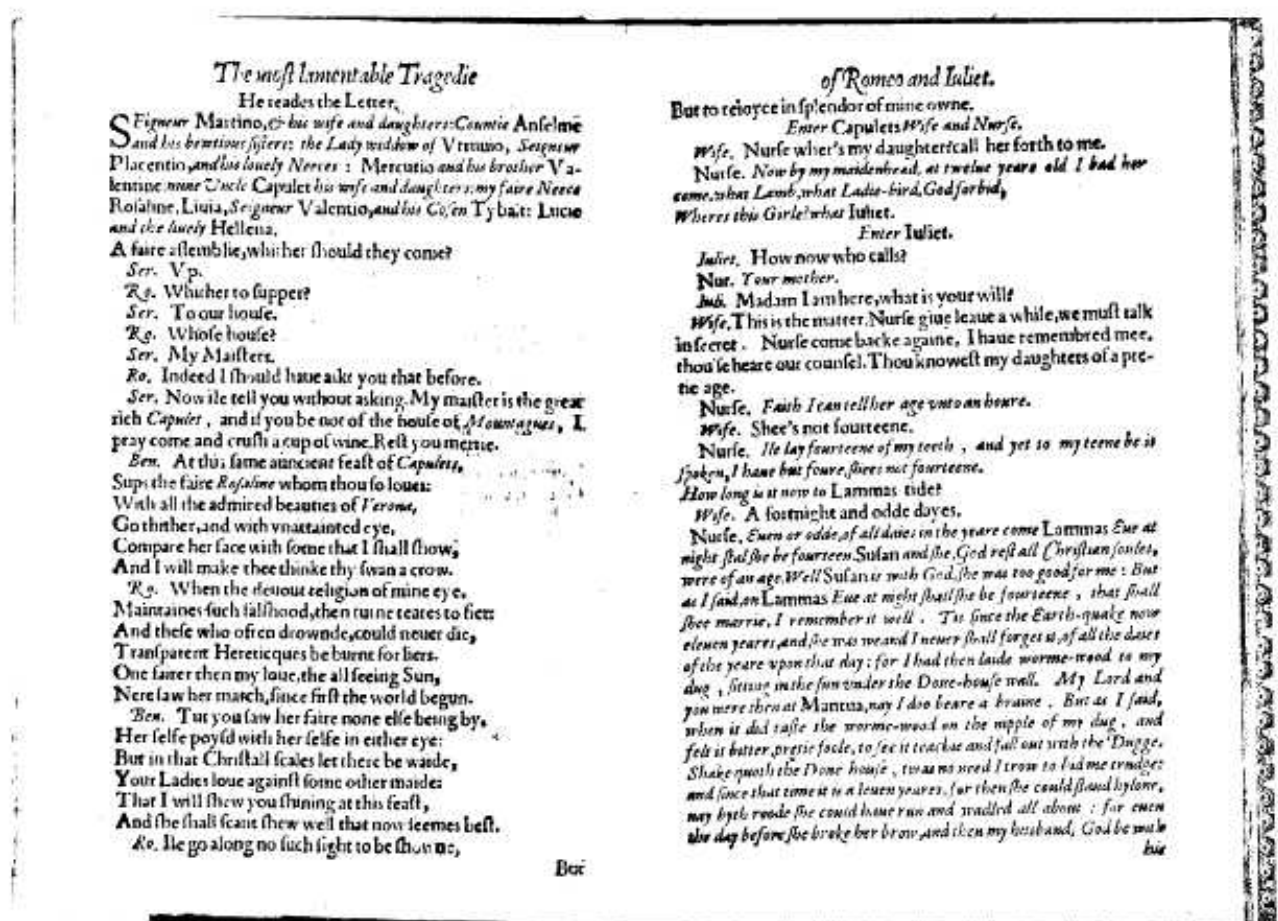
Although we can perhaps speculate that Creede had acquired a manuscript that provided such details distinguishing the functions of the roles or perhaps different hands of composition might have led to the result we have in print, we cannot rule out that such detailed typographical differentiation between the theatrical and literary elements could be due to the fact that Creede, in the preparation for printing the play either for himself or Pavier, had read the play and made conscious decisions in choosing the format, layout and typefaces so as to distinguish the theatrical movement and different styles of performance.

Although Jonas' last speech, in which he preaches to Londoners and replaces Oseas' role, was cast in black letter instead of roman (Q1 I4<sup>v</sup>; Q2 I4<sup>v</sup>; Q3 I4<sup>v</sup>), the majority of the typographical divisions between theatre conventions remain extraordinarily consistent especially in terms of the typographical distinction between theatrical conventions and the division of spatial practices that can be observed in the role of Oseas.

However, it is important to notice that such a differentiation does not necessarily apply consistently to plays printed in this period and the same could be said even among some of Creede's own play books. To begin with, it is difficult to find among other plays printed by Creede the same level of distinction between different dramatic conventions as we can see in the first three editions of *A Looking Glass for London and England*. For example, although the prologue in *Selimus and Clyomon and Clamydes* were cast in italics in contrast with the rest of the dialogue in roman, the prologue in *The Pedlar's Prophecy* was set in roman and not distinguished from the rest of the dialogue in terms of typeface. In the 1611 edition of *Cupid's Whirligig*, the majority of the dialogue were printed in roman; two of the three speeches from Cupid (I3<sup>r</sup>, K4<sup>v</sup>) were set in italics as opposed to his opening speech which was set in roman even though they can be all be seen as elements outside the main dramatic narrative as they functioned as prologue, chorus and epilogue.

Another example can be found in the 1599 edition of *Romeo and Juliet*. Although the dialogues in the play-text were mainly printed in roman while the stage directions are distinguished in italics, we cannot find the same degree of consistency as we could from Creede's three editions of *A Looking Glass for London and England*. For example, although the majority of the dialogue was printed in roman which can

be distinguished from the mostly italicised stage directions, the speeches of the Nurse in Act 1 Scene 3 are presented in italics as opposed to the rest of the dialogue between Juliet and Capulet's wife printed in roman on the same page. It is also important to point out here that Creede's choice of layout in this scene appears analogous to that of Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet* printed by John Danter and Edward Allde. As John Jowett and Stanley Wells point out, in the section between line 301-88, Q1 is the copy-text and "Q2 has the status of a reprint . . . [having] virtually no substantive variants" (*Textual* 289) textually and typographically.



(Figure 21, the 1599 edition of *Romeo and Juliet* B3<sup>v</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>)

Such irregularities in terms of the use of typography and layout can also be observed in play books outside Creede's work shop. For example, Richard Jones – a printer

and a publisher who “was admitted as a ‘brother’ of the Stationers’ Company” as early as 1564” (*DNB*) and printed his last play in 1597 – appears even less consistent in differentiating such basic dramaturgical differences through typography and layout than Creede. All of the extant plays published by Richard Jones were printed mainly in black letter.<sup>75</sup> In *The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art* printed by William How for Richard Jones, speech prefixes were marginalised and set in roman as opposed to the dialogue in black letter. The stage directions, however, were set either in italics or black letter, and they appeared either centralised or printed in the margin (A4<sup>v</sup>, C1<sup>r-v</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>, C2<sup>v</sup>). In *Appius and Virginia*, a play also printed by William How for Jones, stage directions were also inconsistently distinguished from the dialogue as they were centralised, marginalised or set in a larger font size than that of the dialogue (A4<sup>r</sup>, C1<sup>r</sup>). Dialogue was generally cast in black letter but the font size sometimes varied even in the same page (B2v-B3r). Although most of the plays he published after 1578 demonstrate more consistency in terms of distinguishing the spoken from the non-spoken element through typography,<sup>76</sup> *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* printed by him in 1590 shows hardly any uniformity in terms of such a typographical distinction. Although the dialogue of the play was printed mainly in black letter, the stage directions were presented with a mixture of choices of black letter and roman font in various sizes (figure 22).

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<sup>75</sup> These are *The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art* printed possibly in 1569, *Damon and Pithias* printed in 1571 and 1582, *Appius and Virginia* printed in 1575, *1 & 2 Promos and Cassandra* printed in 1578, *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* printed in 1590, *1 & 2 Tamburlaine the Great* printed in 1590, 1593 and 1597, and *A Knack to Know a Knave* printed in 1594.

<sup>76</sup> This can be seen in the 1590, 1593 and 1597 editions of *1 & 2 Tamburlaine the Great* in which the stage directions and speech headings were cast in roman as opposed to the dialogue in black letter. The same can be said in the 1594 edition of *A Knack to Know a Knave* in which stage directions were centralised and cast in roman as opposed to the majority of the dialogue in black letter.

The statelie Morall of

He buy it for pleasure, hold, there is a grant:  
 Him. O mercie good wil, my wife shal loose thee still,  
 And since I can neither get Wit nor wealth,  
 Let my wife haue her wil, and let me haue my health.  
 God forgive me, I thinke I neuer name her, but it confuses her, looke  
 where she comes, be mannerly hoies that she knocke ye not with her  
 staffe: kepe your owne counsell, and I le make ye laugh.  
 What doo ye lacke, what lacke ye.  
 Stand away these hoies from my waies,  
 Get ye from my stall, as I le toyng you by the eares.  
 Let my customers see the waies: what lack ye what would ye haue  
 bought.

Enter painfull Penurie, attired like a waterbea-  
 ring woman with her Tankard.

Pen. You haue customers in tow and if they were ought,  
 What do ye with these hoies here to fitch away your waies?  
 You shoulde all your wit, you'll ne'er haue more care.  
 Wil. Content ye good wife, we doe not fitch, but buy.  
 Pen. I meant not you, yong master, Gods blessing on your heart  
 You haue bought indeed sir I for, for your part.  
 Be these two yong Gentlemen of your companie,  
 Buy Gentlemen, buy ballades to make your friends merrie.  
 wit. To stand long with your burden, me thinks you shoulde be weary  
 Pen. True Gentlemen, but you may see poore painfull penury  
 Is faine to carry these Tankards for a penie.  
 But husband I say, come not home to dinner, its Ember day,  
 You must eate nothing till night, but fast and pray.  
 I shall loose my dought at Conduit, and therefore I le away.  
 Yong Gentlemen God be with ye.  
 Him. Wife, must I not dine to day?  
 Pen. No sir by my say. Exit Penurie.  
 Him. If I must not eat, I meane to drinke the mase.  
 What I spare in bread, in ale I le set on the stoke.  
 How say ye my lads? And doo I not speake wisely?  
 Wit. He thinks ye doo, and it's pety, that simplicitie  
 Hath gotten to his wife plaine painfull Penury.  
 Him. Pety, I thanke God though he be poore and starue cleanly,  
 yet he is homely, careful and comely.

One call

the three Lords of London:

One call within. Wit, wealth and wil, come to your Lordes quickly,  
 wit. What the Countessons hang still?  
 One within. yes, let them alone.  
 wit. Farewel Master simplicity. Exeunt.  
 Him. Farewel good P. hoies ene hartly, ene hartly, hartly.  
 And heare ye wil. I thanke you for your hantel truly.  
 Pety lads, heath ye see howe? wit, wit, wealth.

Enter VVit.

wit. What's the matter you call us backe so suddenly.  
 Him. I forgot to aske you whether your thre Lordes of London be  
 courtiers or Cittizens?  
 wit. Cittizens hoies and courtiers brought vp: Is this all? Fare-  
 well. Exit.  
 Him. Cittizens hoies and Courtiers brought vp. I thinke so, for  
 they that be hoies in London are halfe Courtiers before they see the  
 Court, for finesse and mannerlinesse of palling, my maners and imbe-  
 diour is mended halfe in halfe since I gaue ouer being a meal-man  
 and came to dwell in London: ye may see Time dooth much, Time  
 weares out yon hoies: Time weares out milkinnes: Time sea-  
 sons a pudging well, and Time hath made mee a free man, as free to  
 beere water and sell Ballades, as the best of our copulation: I would  
 haue thought once my hoies shoulde haue bene free as soon as my selfe,  
 and sooner too, for ye might haue stumbled with a lacke of malle and  
 lien along in the channell with it when he: had done, and that some  
 calls freedom, but it's but a burtie freedom, but ye may see, bad hoies  
 were but ladies in those daies: But selfe, here comes customers:  
 What lacke ye, what is't ye lacke, what lacke ye? Come along and buy  
 nothing: fine Ballades, new Ballades, what lack ye?

Enter Nemo and the three Lordes.

Ne. My Lordes come on, what suits haue you to me?  
 Pol. Renowned Nemo, the most onelic one  
 That breathes no breath but of th' eternal aere,  
 That knowest our suit before we haue to speak  
 For thou art the very Quicke of thoughts:  
 Whose vertues doe encirle the theer about,  
 As th' aere surrounds this mortall globe of earth.

C 3

(Figure 22: *Three Lords and Three Ladies* C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>)

The same kind of inconsistency in play books can also be seen in the 1592 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, the 1594 editions of *The Battle of Alcazar* and *The Massacre of Paris* printed by Edward Allde for Edward White. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the dialogue as well as the stage directions were printed mainly in roman, but some stage directions for exit were printed in italics (B1<sup>r</sup>, I1<sup>r</sup>-I3<sup>r</sup>, K1<sup>v</sup>, L2<sup>v</sup>), and some of the stage directions were both marginalised and italicised (K3<sup>v</sup>, K4<sup>r</sup>). Similar examples can also be seen in *The Battle of Alcazar* (B3<sup>v</sup>, B4<sup>r</sup>) and *The Massacre of Paris* (A4<sup>v</sup>, B1<sup>r</sup>) in which dialogue were mostly cast in roman but stage directions were inconsistently set in either roman or italics.

It is worth pointing out, if we look at the rest of the professional plays printed by Creede in terms of the layout of the play-text, there seems to be a general uniformity at least in terms of the distinction between the spoken and the non-spoken elements in a play. To begin with, in all of the play books printed by him before 1595 apart from Q1 *A Looking Glass for London and England* (six plays),<sup>77</sup> the dialogues were invariably set in roman. In these plays, stage directions were also cast in roman font except that all the opening directions<sup>78</sup> and the majority of the cues for exit were cast in italics. Speech prefixes were also mainly set in italics. Although the font of half of the stage directions remained the same as that of the dialogue, it is important to point out that the majority of the stage directions indicating characters' entrance were centralised and there were often space left before and/or after these stage directions. In short, stage directions other than those for exit were differentiated from the dialogue through the layout rather than typeface; cues for exit appeared more distinguished as they were not only cast in italics but were often printed to the right of the verse-line. It is also worth noticing a departure from such a pattern of printing that occurred in 1598 and from 1598 onwards. After nearly three years of no dramatic output, all the plays printed by Creede from 1598 to 1616 – the last year we could see dramatic output from his work shop – exhibit a clear differentiation between stage directions and dialogue in terms of typeface apart from the example of the 1599 edition of *Romeo and Juliet* and some other anomalies.<sup>79</sup> Those printed mainly in roman in terms of dialogue would have the majority of their stage directions printed in italics as well as most of their speech headings.<sup>80</sup> In addition to

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<sup>77</sup> See appendix B.

<sup>78</sup> In *Menaechmi*, the first two stage directions are in italics.

<sup>79</sup> These anomalies can be seen in *Cupid's Revenge* in which some speeches were printed in the margin and were also set in italics (E3<sup>r</sup>). In the 1611 and 1616 edition of *Cupid's Whirligig*, the Young Lord's speech was printed half in italics and half in roman (D4<sup>r</sup>). All of Cupid's speeches were printed in italics in the 1616 edition (A3<sup>r</sup>, I3<sup>r</sup>, K4<sup>v</sup>) whilst the 1611 edition left Cupid's prologue in roman (A3<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>80</sup> It is important to note that names in stage directions were treated with less consistency from play to play. For instance, they were set in roman in the 1600 edition of *Henry V* as opposed to the rest of the stage directions

Q1, Q2 and Q3 of *A Looking Glass for London and England*, the only other play printed by Creede using black letter is the 1598 edition of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*. The differentiation between the spoken and non-spoken element in this play is analogous to the three quartos of *A Looking Glass for London and England* printed by Creede as the stage directions and speech headings were set mainly in roman in contrast with the dialogue in black letter.

In the end, by examining Thomas Creede's theatrical output, we could gather a sense of an attempt to regulate and unify, at least to some degree, the typography and mise-en-page in his play books and perhaps a glimpse of an awareness of the different dramaturgical and theatrical elements within a play. By distinguishing these dramatic devices through typography, printers like Creede were able to characterise the book of a play in a form more relevant to, albeit not representational of, the shaping of a performance. It is tempting to look for a more direct relationship between a play book and stage either from dramatic title pages or from the para-textual material of a play-text as a result of the creation of its printers/compositors. However, as I have demonstrated with the woodcut of the 1630 edition of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, the products of the stationers' attempts to bridge the gap between the book and the theatre are often unspecific and cannot be treated as a representation of a particular performance or playing venue reconstructed from memory. Similarly, the typographical layout of Creede's *A Looking Glass for London and England* as well as the rest of his theatrical output do not put forward a case that associates the play books with theatrical space

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in italics, but, in *Alphonsus King of Aragon* and *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, the names were set in italics like the rest of the stage directions. Exceptions can be found when speech headings are not entirely printed in italics. In *The London Prodigal* (B1<sup>v</sup>, B2<sup>r-v</sup>, B3<sup>r-v</sup>, B4<sup>r-v</sup>, C1<sup>v</sup>, C2<sup>r</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>, C4<sup>r</sup>, D1<sup>r-v</sup>, D2<sup>r</sup>, E1<sup>r-v</sup>, E2<sup>r-v</sup>, E3<sup>r-v</sup>, E4<sup>r</sup>, F2<sup>r</sup>, G1<sup>r</sup>, G2<sup>v</sup>, G4<sup>r</sup>) and *Cupid's Revenge* (F3<sup>v</sup>, G2<sup>v</sup>, G3<sup>v</sup>, H1<sup>v</sup>, H2<sup>r</sup>, H3<sup>r-v</sup>, H4<sup>r-v</sup>), some of the first letters of the speech prefixes are set in roman as opposed to the rest in italics.

architecturally or scenographically. However, what stands out from the work of Creede's printing house instead is how he applied different layout and typefaces in his play books. And more importantly, what these typographical distinctions and the design of the layout imply is a spatial practice that is ultimately defined and determined by the variety of theatre conventions within a dramatic text. This can be observed from the more basic differentiation between the spoken and non-spoken element such as the typographical distinction between dialogue, stage directions and speech prefixes. More strikingly, such typographical distinctions are also employed to distinguish a more complex and subtle spatial divisions. It can be observed when different theatrical devices such as the use of chorus, dumb shows, or songs are adopted as well as when different levels of story worlds exist and the function of a character changes depending upon the level of diegesis in which he or she resides. Therefore, the concept of a theatrical space, in this sense, is determined by the diverse dramatic forces available in this period, because the style of his or her dramatic narrative would ultimately determine the modes of spatial practice within a play. Therefore, in the following chapter, I will focus on a specific case of Robert Greene and his repertory and demonstrate the degree to which his idiosyncratic style of dramaturgy could cause the division as well as transgression of a theatrical as well as narrative space.



## Chapter Five

### Space of Narrative and the Transgression of Spatial Practices

In this chapter, I will look into various models of spatial practices and divisions in early modern plays by employing two major terms from the narratologists – mimesis and diegesis. The two terms originally denote two major styles of narrative: the diegesis is the representation of an action by “telling” and the mimesis is the imitation of an action by “performance” (Abbott 237). And although a play is considered strictly mimetic under those conditions and these two narratological terms are mainly used to characterise the difference between “showing” and “telling” (Genette 30) in lyric poetry or fictions, I find them equally useful as dramaturgical terms to differentiate between various spatial practices implied in early modern plays.

The idea that a play is “mimetic” is perhaps not unfamiliar, but what needs further explanation here is the concept of a diegetic space and how the term diegesis apply to early modern plays or drama in general. Strictly speaking, diegesis refers to “the telling of a story” as well as the “world created by the narration” (Abbott 231). In dramas, the fictional worlds within are often similarly created by the styles of narrative and the verbal illustrations of one or more characters. For instance, theatrical conventions such as long speeches and monologues – often used to recall, report and commentate what may not have necessarily happened onstage – can be seen as a space created by narration, a diegetic space, as the actors are required to describe instead of show in action. The definition of diegesis as the “storyworld” can be also useful to discuss the levels of the fictional world(s) within the dramatic narrative. For instance, characters that appear to narrate/introduce the main plot

of the story but have no direct interaction with the main action exist in an extra-diegetic or heterodiegetic level as they do not belong to the main story world of the play as opposed to a homo-diegetic narrator who takes part in the main action of the diegesis.

The interplay between the mimetic and diegetic modes of narrative as well as the interplay between the diverse levels of diegesis in early modern drama, I will subsequently argue, not only contributes to a division between spatial practices within plays but also demonstrates how space in early modern play-texts can be a fundamentally dramaturgic issue and subsequently an issue concerning the plays' provenance, authorship and their associated repertory. In order to depart from the familiar architectural reconstruction done by scholars such as Gurr and Wickham discussed in Chapter One – focusing mainly on the London playhouses and companies at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – the subsequent discussion will focus on the repertory of Robert Greene who appears dramaturgically distinctive from Shakespeare. And by looking at Robert Greene's plays as well as the spatial practices suggested by his dramatic narrative, I hope to demonstrate how the dramaturgic models of Shakespeare's plays – often used to summarise and represent Elizabethan theatre – may fall short as a way of including playwrights and repertories whose dramaturgy could suggest a very different style of theatrical practice.

### **The interplay between the mimetic and diegetic space in Early Modern Plays**

Before I go on to examine the theatrical and dramaturgic styles in Greene's plays, I will demonstrate how and the extent to which early modern spatial practices could

be determined by the styles of narrative and theatrical conventions within a play-text.

The most extreme usage of the mimetic mode of narrative within a play is perhaps the usage of a dumb show.<sup>81</sup> The presence of such a dramatic device often creates a sharp contrast with the more diegetic style of spatial practice. As Dieter Mehl points out, dumb shows in Elizabethan plays – a mimed dramatic performance – are often accompanied by a “presenter” or a chorus-like character who illustrates, explains or comments on the meaning and moral lessons of the silent action onstage (11-12). The co-existence of a pantomime and a presenter who elaborates the occasion, thus, exhibits the interplay between the two extreme kinds of theatrical practices – “action without speech and speech without action” (Mehl 3-4) and sharpens the contrast between the two modes of narrative. An example can be observed in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (1600). The play opens with a dumb show in which the Duke of Anjou kills the Duke of Burgundy, the Duchess leaps into a river to avoid the French and leaves her infant nephew Frederick on the bank. The dumb show ends when the Duke of Brabant finds the child:

A dombe Showe  
*After an Alarum, enter one way the Duke of Burgundie, an  
other way, the duke of Aniou with his power, they encoun-  
ter, Burgndie is slaine. Then enter the Dutches of Burgun-  
die with young Fredericke, in her hand, who being pursued of  
the French, leaps into a River, leauing the child upon the banke,  
who is presently found by the duke of Brabant, who came to aid  
Burgundie, when it was too late.*

(A3<sup>r</sup>)

The pantomime is then accompanied by the Prologue who explains the details of the mimed action:

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<sup>81</sup> The phrase dumb show is often “abbreviated to *show*” in a stage direction when such a theatrical convention is called forth and the phrase is not often employed directly in play-texts (Dessen and Thomson 80).

Prologue  
 The Duke of Aniou fatally inclind  
 Against the familie of Bullen, leads  
 A mightie Armie into Burgundie,  
 Where Philip younger brother of that house  
 Was Duke: whose power unequall with his foes,  
 Reveiv'd the foile, and being slaine himselfe,  
 The Souldiers afterward pursue his wife:  
 She flying from the Citie, tooke with her,  
 Her pretie Newpnew,  
 . . .  
 And in her flight to scape the bloudie hands  
 of those that follow'd, leapes into a River,  
 And there vntimely perisht in the floud,  
 The little Fredericke left vpon the shore,  
 The tardie Duke of Brabant all too let,

(A3<sup>r</sup>)

The dumb show which illustrates the death of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundie and the escape of their nephew, a silent scene without dialogue, is purely mimetic as opposed to the diegetic moment followed immediately by the Prologue who elaborates the mimed action and provides detailed information of the characters involved in the dumb show which is crucial to the subsequent development of the plot. And as Dieter Mehl points out, the introduction of such a presenter – a framing device – serves the purpose of establishing “contact between the audience and the characters and are meant to make it easier to understand the meaning of the play and its practical application” (90).

Examples of such a direct contrast between the mimetic and diegetic spatial practice can also be seen in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Like the pantomime in *Hamlet*, the first dumb show in *The Spanish Tragedy* is employed as an entertainment for the characters in the main part of the play, for this “pompous jest” (1.4.137) is served as an amusement for the Spanish King and also his honoured guest, the “Portingale ambassador” (1.4.111). The dumb show is presented by Hieronimo in which three

knights and three kings appear and each of the kings has his crown taken by the one of the knights:

*Enter Hieronimo with a drum, three knights, each his  
scutcheon. Then he fetches three kings; they take their  
crowns and them captive.*

(1.4.137.1-3)

After delivering the silent masque, Hieronimo is questioned with the meaning of the dumb show as the King, albeit content with the masque, could not comprehend the “mystery” (1.4.139). Hieronimo’s subsequent explanation of this symbolic show is how this “little England” (1.4.160) defeats both Portingale and Spain at three separate occasions:

HIERONIMO. The first armed knight that hung his scutcheon up  
*He takes the scutcheon and gives it to the King*  
Was English Robert, Earl of Gloucester,  
Who, when King Stephen bore sway in Albion,  
Arrived with five-and-twenty thousand men  
In Portingale, and by success of war  
Enforced the King, then but a Saracen  
To bear the yoke of English monarchy.  
...

HIERONIMO. The second knight that hung his scutcheon up  
*He doth as he did before*  
Was Edmund, Earl of Kent in Albion,  
...  
He came likewise and razed Lisbon walls  
And took the King of Portingale in fight,  
...

HIERONIMO. The third ...  
Brave John of Gaunt ...  
... took our King of Castile prisoner.  
(1.4.140-6; 151-155; 162-167)

Hieronimo’s elaboration of the dumb show, thus, can be categorised as a diegetic spatial practice as he plays the role of a narrator/presenter in this scene and demonstrates a sharp contrast with the mimetic practice of the dumb show. However, unlike the Prologue who illustrates the mimed “prequel” to *The Weakest*

*Goeth to the Wall* who appears to be a separate part from the main fictional space, Hieronimo's diegetic spatial practice remains coherent within the dramatic illusion of the main action.

Such kinds of interplay and contrast between the mimetic and diegetic practice can also be observed in many other dumb-show-like moments when they are accompanied by a presenter. This can be observed in *The True Tragedy of Richard III* when the Page narrates and explains to the audience the events that are summarised in the subsequent stage direction:

PAGE. . . . Now there is court held today by diverse of  
the Council, which I fear me will cost the Lord  
Hastings and the Lord Stanley their best caps: for my  
Lord hath willed me to get half a dozen ruffians in  
readiness, and when he knocks with his fist upon the  
board, they to rush in, and to cry treason, treason,  
and to lay hands upon the Lord Hastings, and the Lord  
Stanley, which for fear I should let slip, I will give  
my diligent attendance.  
*Enter Richard, Catesby and others, pulling  
Lord Hastings*  
(D4<sup>r</sup> 934 -942)

It is not clear whether the motions planned by Richard and caused by the ruffians happen as the Page illustrates the event to the audience as McMillin and MacLean have suggested (132), or if the action narrated by the Page is meant to be offstage whilst the stage direction completes the act. What we can see in this passage is two styles of theatrical practice placed side by side forming a sharp contrast between the verbal narration of the Page and the actions that involve Richard, the Lords and the ruffians either during or immediately following the Page's speech here. The co-existence of a mimed action and a presenter who elaborates the occasion exhibits the interplay between two fundamentally mutually exclusive narrative styles and subsequently two extreme kinds of spatial practices in the theatre – "action without

speech and speech without action" (Mehl 3-4).

It is worth noticing that a number of stage directions found in drama of this period can be seen analogous to the usage of a pantomime. Often, these stage directions are relatively concise but require rather complex movements. The battle scene in *The True Tragedy of Richard III* is an example of this kind. The sequence of action includes the entrance of the battle and how Richard is injured whilst accompanied by his page, and is all condensed into one simple stage direction: "the battle enters, Richard wounded, with his Page" (H3<sup>r</sup>). Albeit succinct, the stage direction indicates a kind of spatial practice that mainly involves action without the use of dialogue; it is, therefore, a primarily mimetic, or even dumb-show like, moment. Apart from this battle scene in this play, the retreat of the Queen and her children to the sanctuary which appears to constitute the entire scene is also discovered in one simple stage direction: "Enters mother Queen and her daughter, and her son, to sanctuary" (C3<sup>r</sup>).

These dumb-show-like mimetic moments can also be found in the battle scene in *The Famous Victories of Henry V* in which a whole scene is summarised by a stage direction "The Battle Enters" (F1<sup>r</sup>), the fight between Flaminius and Alphonsus in *Alphonsus King of Aragon* in which Flaminius makes his first entrance and is killed before he has a chance to speak (B4<sup>v</sup> 392-4) as well as the numerous spectacles in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* in which a "Tree appears with dragon shooting fire" (E4<sup>r</sup> 1197-8) and "a lightning flasheth forth, and a hand appears that breaketh down the Head with a hammer" (G2<sup>v</sup> 1635-7). It can also be observed in *A Looking Glass for London and England*, in which a stage direction calls for the entry of an evil angel, who "tempth [the Usurer], offering the knife and rope" (H4<sup>r</sup>) without any dialogue with the Usurer.

Robert Wilson's *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* also demonstrates narrative style of this kind – emphasizing the visual instead of the verbal – as the play is full of elaborate stage directions of visual spectacles such as the emblems on each lord's shield (B1<sup>r</sup>) and a battle scene consisting largely of stage directions instead of dialogues:

*They hang up their shieldes, and step out of sight. The Spaniardes come, and flourish their rapiers neer them, but touch them not, and then hang up theirs; which the Lords of London perceiving, take their own and batter theirs: The Spaniards, making a litle showe to rescue, do sodenly slippe away, and come no more. (H1<sup>r</sup>)*

Although comparatively more detailed than previous examples, this stage direction, in spite of describing the sequence of action, include phrases that merely sum up the actions but are inadequate to illustrate the scene fully. The description of the Spaniards “making a litle showe to rescue” (H1<sup>r</sup>), like the other stage directions of battle scenes described above, requires movement more complicated than the details the stage direction offers and demonstrates a primarily mimetic style of spatial practice that involves visual elements instead of verbal dialogues.

Although the usage of a pantomime or a dumb-show-like moment is not always accompanied by a presenter, the diegetic style of dramaturgy – telling instead of showing – can also be found in other theatrical conventions that are commonly employed in early modern drama. These include the use of long speeches and monologues as well as the employment of a framing device and other meta-theatrical elements.

To begin with, the diegetic mode of narratology in early modern plays often defines



the space of illusion: a fictional location of the present or the past that is described and embodied through dialogue, monologue and sometimes long speeches. It also functions at times as a means to break away the fictional world from the actual space of the performance. For example, the usage of long speeches and monologues often requires the actors to engage in the act of story-telling either by vividly recalling the past or by reporting and clarifying the role they play, where they are, and what they intend to do after their first entrance onstage. Such kinds of narration usually depict a fictional location that is mainly defined by a character's narrative description. Examples can be observed in *Clyomon and Clamydes* when Clamydes in his opening speech declares:

CLAMY. . . . I Clamydes, Prince of Swavia Noble foyle,  
Bringing my Barke to Denmarke here, to bide the bitter broyle  
(A3<sup>r</sup> 8-9)

Clamydes' speech goes on for another twenty lines in which he informs the audience of his status, origin, current location and his purpose. The stage direction that cues his entrance merely appears as "enter Clamydes" (A3<sup>r</sup> 1) and provides no information that could help us visualise the details of the staging and attires that may hint the origin of the character. Clamydes' self introduction and his ongoing description of what he has just experienced "off stage" and his intention in the subsequent scene in the next twenty-five lines compensate for the insufficient details from the stage direction and provide a vivid description of a diegetic location of his past that is verbally distinctive from the reality of the audience. Similar examples can also be seen in *The Old Wives Tale* when the Old Man at his first encounter with the two brothers tells the tale of his misfortune:

Old Man. Now sit thee here & tel a heavy tale,  
Sad in thy moode, and sober in thy cheere,  
Here sit thee now and to thy selfe relate,  
The hard mishap of thy most wretched state.

In Thessalie I liv'd in sweete content,  
Untill that Fortune wrought my overthrow;

...

But Sacrapant that cursed sorcerer,

...

Did turne me straight unto an ugly bear;  
And when the sunne doth settle in the west,  
Then I begin to don my ugly hide:

...

And yet I am in Aprill of my age.

(B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>r</sup> 213-232)

The nineteen-line introduction of the Old Man's past is another typical instance when the character verbally explains and informs about the fictional location in both present and past tense. In this case, it is the fictional location of "Thessalie" (B2<sup>v</sup> 217) where the Old Man explains how he was turned into an "ugly bear" by Sacrapant at a previous encounter even though he is yet "in Aprill of [his] age" (B3<sup>r</sup> 232). Such a diegetic spatial practice – the use of long speeches that introduce the background of a character – forms a sharp contrast with the subsequent mimetic interchange between the Old Man and the two brothers, and functions as a means to transform the venue of the performance into a fictional location.

Such kinds of "narrative" locations do not appear exclusively in the form of long speeches and monologues but are often simply referred to or described in a concise manner. Examples include the "chamber" of Henry IV (C4<sup>v</sup>) in *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, in which Prince Henry in a dialogue with his father says: "Most sovereign Lord, and welbeloved father, / I came into *your Chamber* to comfort the melancholy/ Soule of your bodie" (my italics). It can also be observed when the Queen questions the Cardinal whether he will "breake *Sanctuary*, and bring in revels to affright us thus" (D3<sup>r</sup>; my italics) in *The True Tragedy of Richard III* as well as when Clamydes declares his intention to slay the "flying serpent" (C2<sup>r</sup> 512) in "the Forrest of Marvels" in *Clyomon and Clamydes* (C2<sup>r</sup> 513) as well as "merry Fresingfield" (A3<sup>r</sup>

10) and “Bacons Secret Cell” (B1<sup>v</sup> 184) in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. From Shakespeare’s canon, similar examples of a narrative location include “the forest of Arden” in *As You Like It* (1.1.114; 1.3.107; 2.4.15-16) and Prospero’s “full poor cell” (1.2.20) in *The Tempest*.<sup>82</sup> When Bottom and his friends meet in the forest outside Athens for their rehearsal in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Peter Quince’s approval of their choice of location demonstrates the same kind of narrative space – a fictional space distinguished by the uses of speech and dialogue:

Quince: Here’s a marvellous convenient place for our rehearsal.  
This green plot shall be our stage,  
This hawthorn-brake our tiring house . . .  
(3.1.2-4)

Whether the play was performed in various venues or if the scene was elaborately furnished, there was probably no real forest onstage for Bottom and Quince’s rehearsal. The “green plot” they pretend to be their stage can be an actual stage and the “hawthorn-brake” they will use as their tiring-house could be the tiring house in the back stage. Although the reality and illusion may have appeared reversed, Quince’s description of the bushes and the green is a location defined by the narrative – a fictional space that is verbally differentiated from the world of the audience.

The diegetic style of dramaturgy can also be seen in the use of a framing device when an extra-diegetic or hetero-diegetic narrator/chorus/character introduces the main plot and characters and/or summarises, explains as well as comments on the subsequent actions. And not only is the narrator figure practicing the diegetic mode of narrative by “telling” the story but he or she also creates another kind of spatial division by existing in a different level of diegesis (i.e. story world) as we can

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<sup>82</sup> Quotations from *As You Like It*, *The Tempest* as well as *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* are cited from the Riverside edition.

see from the example of the Prologue from *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall*.

Other examples of the use of a framing device can also be observed in *The True Tragedy of Richard III*— a play that is introduced by two allegorical narrator-like figures: Truth and Poetrie. The play begins with a stage direction that cues the apparition of the Ghost of George Duke of Clarence and is followed by a dialogue between Truth and Poetrie who explain the purpose of their presence, the point of play-making as well as the previous apparition:

Poetrie. Truth well met  
Truth. Thanks Poetrie, what makes thou upon a stage?  
Poetrie. Shadowes.  
Truth. Then will I adde bodies to the shadowes,  
Therefore depart and give Truth leave  
To shew her pageant  
...  
Poetrie. What Ghoast was that did appeare to us?  
Truth. It was the Ghost of George the duke of Clarence,  
Who was affected in King Edwards raig  
(A3r<sup>r-v</sup> 7-45)

The subsequent dialogue between the two figures is also important as it prepares the audience for the fictional location in the subsequent scene in which “Richard Plantagenet of the House of York [claims] the crowne by warres, not by dissent” (A3<sup>r</sup> 19-20) as well as providing information on the main characters in the subsequent scenes and on events that have already taken place. For instance, Truth informs Poetrie of how King Henry the Sixth is “Imprisoned” in “the Tower of London” and “[s]ince cruelly murdered, by Richard Glosters Duke” (A3<sup>v</sup> 40-43). The conversation between the two allegorical figures also includes a rather detailed description of the manner of Richard – “A man ill shaped, crooked backed, lame armed . . . [v]aliantly minded, but tyrannous in authority” as well as important information of how Edward “is now neare flight to God, / Leaving behind two sonnes

of tender age, / Five daughters to comfort the haplesse Queene, / All under the protection of the Duke of Gloster" (A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup> 57-69).

Not only do Truth and Poetrie demonstrate a diegetic style of spatial practice by verbally preparing the audience for the fictional world in the subsequent scenes, but they also create another kind of spatial division by having no interaction with the characters in the main plot and only exist in a hetero-diegetic level. The play can be thus divided by two different narrative levels – one occupied by the two allegorical figures, the other by those who appear in the sequence of actions for how Richard gradually gains and loses his throne. Space in plays, therefore, can be divided not only by the styles of narrative but also by the various levels of story worlds within them.

In addition, spatial practices can also be more complicated when meta-theatrical elements are introduced. An example can be observed in *The Roaring Girl* in which a diegetic narrative moment occurred when Sir Alexander describes his well-furnished room while making reference to the physical structure of the performance and the audience:

SIR ALEXANDER    The furniture that doth adorn this room  
                         Cost many a fair [grey groat](#) ere it came here,  
                         But good things are most cheap when th' are most dear.  
                         Nay, when you look into my [galleries](#),  
                         How bravely they are trimm'd up, you all shall swear  
                         Y'are highly pleas'd to see what's set down there:  
                         Stories of men and women mix'd together,  
                         Fair ones with foul, like sunshine in wet weather;  
                         Within one square a thousand heads are laid  
                         So close that all of heads the room seems made.  
                         As many faces there fill'd with blithe looks  
                         Show like the promising titles of new books  
                         Writ merrily, the readers being their own eyes,  
                         Which seem to move and to give [plaudities](#).  
                         And here and there, whilst with [obsequious](#) ears  
                         Throng'd heaps do listen, a cutpurse thrusts and leers

With hawk's eyes for his prey; I need not show him:  
By a hanging villainous look yourselves may know him,  
The face is drawn so rarely. Then, sir, below,  
The very flower as 'twere waves to and fro,  
And like a [floating island](#) seems to move  
Upon a sea bound in with shores above.

(1.2.12-32)

As Giddens points out, Sir Alexander's remark on his luxuriously furnished galleries here "also considers the nature of the theatre audience, immediate and visible in the Fortune theatre, where the play was first performed" (392). His description of "a thousand heads" in the picture or tapestry on his wall is often regarded as a reference to the "Throng'd heaps" of spectators and cutpurses who constitute the fourth wall in the Fortune theatre. Therefore, in addition to the sharp contrast between the diegetic spatial practice of Sir Alexander's role and the mimetic dialogue between him and other characters, the meta-theatrical element in this diegetic practice could potentially create a brief moment that extends the fictional world on the stage/page to include the offstage audience as a part of the dramatic illusion.

To sum up, the interplay between the mimetic and diegetic styles of narrative often creates rather different kinds of spatial practices, and the presence of different levels of diegesis can also contribute to a spatial division within a dramatic narrative. It is equally important to note that theatrical conventions found in early modern plays are often characterised by these two mutually exclusive styles of dramaturgy. However, before I go on to demonstrate how the early modern spatial practice is ultimately determined by dramaturgy, it is important here to clarify how my distinction and division of theatrical space departs from Weimann's proposal of locus and platea whose terms, to this date, remain widely accepted and whose approach prioritises Shakespeare over other playwrights in this period.

## Locus and Platea Reconsidered

The importance of Weimann's work on the spatial division between locus and platea begins with his innovative attempt to distinguish space through rhetoric and different modes of narrative in early modern plays. According to him, this "doubleness in Elizabethan projection of theatrical space" (*Author's* 196) is distinguished by the types of discourse. Characters who employ a style of language that is "close to the ordinary word and the native language of the jesting, riddling, punning 'mother-wits,' . . . and deeply aware of ordinary, everyday objects and relations among people" (*Author's* 194) demarcate the platea from the fictional world of the locus. Apart from the representational function that distinguishes the two, the main element that Weimann uses to separate the two types of theatrical space is how they are related to the audience. As the platea is "marked by its openness towards to world of the audience," "its downstage physical proximity to the audience," and occupied by characters such as "the 'self-resembled' Clowns" (*Author's* 183), it represents a space that resists the symbolism of the remote fictional world in representation – the locus.

As discussed in the Introduction,<sup>83</sup> Weimann's division of locus and platea is fundamentally a matter of narratology – locus is comparable to the mimetic narrative mode whilst the platea is diegetic. Although my approach to a narrative space appears similar to Weimann's to some extent, Weimann's distinction differs in a number of significant ways for the following reasons.

First, Weimann's division, albeit dramaturgically based, differs in his attempt to

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<sup>83</sup> See Introduction 22-26..

bridge the gap between the symbolic space divided by different narrative styles and the physical distinction between the upstage and downstage area of a platform stage – a conclusion drawn from his study of works by scholars such as C. Walter Hodges, Richard Southern, Richard Hosley and Glynn Wickham (Weimann, *Shakespeare* 208-211). This can be seen in his reading of the changing perspective of the character Berowne in Act 4 scene 3 in *Love's Labour's Lost*, in which the complex relationship between those who eavesdrop and/or those who are observed forms an interesting spatial division. In Weimann's analysis, he visualises Berowne's movement "from mere 'aside' position to a position closer to the audience" (*Shakespeare* 229-230) – moving towards an unlocalised space of platea – and "picture Berowne climbing one of the downstage columns, such as the ones indicated in the Swan drawing" (*Shakespeare* 230).

Although Weimann has acknowledged alternative possibilities of this scene and indeed the different levels of onstage spectators creates a distinctive style of spatial practice in which Berowne's position is most akin to the audience off stage, Weimann's attempt is problematised by his effort to match the uses of symbolic spaces with the physical platform stage based on the architectural model of theatre reconstruction available to him. His extensive discussion – from George F. Reynold's study of stage practices such as the uses of the "inner stage" in the Red Bull, the use of the "upper stage" suggested by E. K. Chambers and W. J. Lawrence to Hosley's reconsidering of the appropriateness of the term "upper stage" (*Shakespeare* 208-9) – leads him to conclude with the help of evidence from Henslowe's account of the Fortune theatre and van Buchel's Swan drawing that "greater attention should be paid to the platform stage" and the interplay of locus and platea in the tradition of the popular theatre (*Shakespeare* 211). Albeit recognizing that his "approach to the



origins of the Elizabethan stage remains in many ways as hypothetical as the older theories it seeks to revise" (*Shakespeare* 211), he argues that the architectural reconstruction to which he applies his narrative spatial distinction "is supported by facts as well as by practical experiments in the staging of the Renaissance drama that have greatly enhanced our understanding of Shakespeare's plays" (*Shakespeare* 211).<sup>84</sup> However, as I would argue, the problem of matching the symbolic with the architectural theatrical space lies in the fact that, as discussed in Chapter One, the physical theatre reconstruction Weimann relies on here is largely based on evidence of ambiguous and questionable authority.

Secondly, the grouping of locus with the upstage area and platea with the downstage area on the basis of audience-performer rapport is unnecessary. Using Weimann's own example, a "temporarily" platea-driven style of performance such as the Apemantus' remarks among the lords in the banquet in Act 1 Scene 2 of *Timon of Athens* would not require positioning the actor physically in the downstage area so as to create a closer relationship between him and the audience. Such kinds of effects can be created by the style, content and the tone of the speech and not necessarily by the actor's physical location onstage as Weimann has suggested throughout in *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition*. For instance, if the Porter in *Macbeth* functions at times, as Weimann points out, instead of as "those who are represented" but as "those who are doing the representing and the watching of the play as a performed event," comparable to the role of a spectator (*Author's* 201), the audience would not identify themselves less with the Porter simply because the

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<sup>84</sup> Although Weimann avoids throughout his works (i.e. *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition* and *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*) discussing contemporary productions of Shakespeare's plays as "practical experiments," it seems here that he would have endorsed the Stylian approach and projects held by McMaster University on the Queen's Men as discussed previously. See Chapter Two 92.

performer of this character chooses to voice his speech at the back or the side of the stage: the mere location onstage will not in itself determine the actor's rapport with the audience and nor should the performer-audience relationship restrict the use of the stage space as a whole.

Thirdly, In addition to his effort to match the physical structure of the stage with the symbolic spatial distinction which is mainly determined by dramaturgical differences, Weimann's discussion of spatial practices is further complicated by his attempt to reconstruct the authority and forces of early modern performance primarily through play-texts – an assumed audience-actor rapport which eventually depends upon the physical distance between them. As previously discussed in the Introduction, the debate between R. A. Foakes and W. B. Worthen demonstrates the difficulties of identifying the performative forces primarily through play-texts as text and performance exist in fundamentally distinctive forms. Without direct access to early modern performances, the situation becomes more complicated when we consider the varied and often debatable degree of authority within diverse versions of one play as discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two. A division between the actorly and authorly forces, therefore, is hardly clear-cut and definitive.

Fourthly, it is important to note that Weimann's terms locus and platea identify a very specific kind of spatial division. If we overlook his attempt to map the symbolic spatial practice onto the physical structure of an early modern stage, his division is mainly based on the styles of narrative – the platea-driven characters are differentiated by their stage-as-stage awareness and the style of their speech, characterised by a tendency to illustrate, describe or comment on events instead of participating in a dialogue with the locus-driven figures within the dramatic illusion.

In short, platea is primarily a diegetic space highlighted by a meta-theatrical convention whilst locus is a mimetic space – a space of representation.

For example, Weimann's distinction between locus and platea relies significantly on his analysis of long speeches and monologue-like statements. Weimann particularly associates this kind of dramatic device with the utilization of the downstage area of a platform stage (platea) under the assumption that monologues and soliloquies are often audience-directed – implying the stage-awareness of the actors – and logically would have been practiced closer to the immediate addressee (*Shakespeare* 220).

In his extensive analysis of Shakespearean soliloquies and monologue-like speeches, Weimann argues that characters often wander between the downstage area of the platea and the localised fictional space of locus. Hamlet, for instance, in his conversation with Gertrude in Act 3 Scene 4, demonstrates what Weimann calls an “extremely effective alternation between rhetorical and mundane language” suitable for “[a] downstage position (i.e. platea) . . . [which] allowed for a smoother transition from dialogue to monologue and facilitated the delivery of wordplay and proverbs directly to the audience” (*Shakespeare* 217).

QUEEN. O Hamlet, thou hast cleft my heart in twain.

HAMLET. O throw away the worser part of it,  
And live the purer with the other half.  
Good night, but go not to my uncle's bed,  
...  
For use almost can change the stamp of nature,  
And either curb the devil, or throw him out,  
With wondrous potency: once more, good night,  
And when you are desirous to be blessed,  
I'll blessing beg of you. For this same lord,  
I do repent; but heaven hath pleased it so,  
To punish me with this, and this with me,  
That I must be their scourge and minister.  
I will bestow him and will answer well  
The death I gave him; so, again, good night.  
I must be cruel only to be kind.

Thus bad begins, and worse remains behind.  
One word more, good lady.  
QUEEN. What shall I do?  
(3.4.158-182)

According to Weimann, although Hamlet's speech here is part of a dialogue, his repeated "good night" to Gertrude "indicates that the passages in between suspend the convention of dialogue in favour of a more generalised, choruslike kind of monologue" (*Shakespeare* 218). And these soliloquy-like passages – "a summary and an interpretation of past, present and future action" (*Shakespeare* 218) – remove Hamlet "from the illusionistic modes of causality and locality" and allow him to assume "a theatrically more neutral position from which he, as it were, collaborates with the audience" (*Shakespeare* 218). This style of narrative "illustrates the symbiotic relationship between Shakespeare's verbal art and a flexible stage that could localise the scene in dialogue but could just as easily neutralise it once again in monologue or aside" (*Shakespeare* 220). Although he admits that these monologues or monologue-like statements can serve both illusionistic (locus-driven) and non-illusionistic (platea-driven) purposes, Weimann argues that it works as a general rule that "the localization and neutralization of scene and action in downstage acting reflects, respectively, a dissociation from or identification with the audience, and that the structure and style of speech are largely determined by this relationship" (*Shakespeare* 221).

However, this kind of distinction is only one of the many types of spatial divisions one can find in early modern drama. As I have demonstrated in the previous section, employments of different theatre conventions as well as other dramaturgic devices can also contribute to more varied models of spatial divisions and practices. For example, the spatial division between the mimetic and diegetic spatial practice can

often be seen in the theatrical convention of a dumb show especially when the mimed action is accompanied by a presenter who narrates the scene. And such spatial divisions can also be caused by the presence of different levels of diegesis (i.e. story worlds) when a framing device is introduced. Moreover, as I have demonstrated previously, the usage of monologues, long speeches or chorus-like statements, instead of bringing the audience closer to the fictional world onstage, often helps to dissociate the world of the play from the physical space of the performance and defines a space with verbal description. This can be found in the previous discussion of Clamydes' first entrance speech which mainly serves the purpose to provide information of his background and intention in the play – a diegetic spatial practice that does not suggest a close audience-actor rapport as the content of the speech implies no stage/audience awareness of the character and because his addressee is not the audience but himself. Such a spatial practice can also be seen in the subsequent discussion of the long speeches in Greene's *I Selimus*.

In the case of *Hamlet*, although Weimann rightly identifies the different styles of the speech in between each "good night" (3.4.172-179) from the rest of Hamlet's exchange with Gertrude here, the distinction between the spatial practices does not necessarily rely on Hamlet's "changing relationship" with the audience but simply on the fact that the monologue-like statements in between those "good night[s]" function not as a dialogue but more as a self expression and observation of the "past, present and future action" (*Shakespeare* 218). In addition, according to James Hirsh, the majority of Shakespearean soliloquies, apart from 24 occasions including chorus and speeches in inductions and epilogues, are "self-addressed" and often serve as a way to externalise the inner state of a character instead of as a direct address to the audience (199). He criticises Weimann for falsely making an analogy between the

chorus-like statement in Greek tragedies with those monologue-like statements in Shakespeare's plays which provide no evidence of acknowledging either the stage or the audience (Hirsh 355).

I am not suggesting that audience-actor rapport has no influence on spatial practices. However, the meta-theatrical element which is characterised by a role's "stage-as-stage" awareness, albeit potentially creating a closer relationship with the audience, is not necessarily determined or defined by this relationship. In addition, it is important to point out that this audience-actor rapport could mainly be seen as a product of performance practice (and is subject to change with every performance). As previously discussed in the Introduction, although a theatrical space can be seen as both the producer and product of the interaction between actors, audiences and play-texts, such a relationship cannot be simply retrieved from the analysis of play-texts. As Worthen claims, it is the theatre that "works to claim a certain kind of meaning for the drama by claiming . . . a certain kind of experience for the audience" (*Rhetoric* 1). And as I have previously demonstrated, there are plenty of different models of spatial divisions if we look exclusively at play-texts and their inherent dramaturgy; these narrative spatial divisions are defined by a range of dramaturgical devices that drive the narrative of the story-telling but neither determine, nor are determined by a fixed "architectural" spatial relation and an audience- actor rapport as Weimann has argued.

Finally, Weimann's methodology is highly problematic as he adopts examples primarily from Shakespeare's play-texts, and prioritises Shakespeare as the major contributor to the theatrical golden age. Weimann appears to reconstruct a generic model of the early modern spatial practice by drawing evidence from accounts and

pictorial representations of playhouses built by and for different groups of theatre entrepreneurs at different time and places. Such an approach excludes a wide range of professional Elizabethan plays and is further complicated by its attempt to construct a model of “popular” theatre as opposed to the less popular modes of representation – an agenda that prioritises Shakespeare over other early modern playwrights whose modes of writing are deemed less popular in comparison.

In order to further develop the idea of narrative spatial distinctions, the following section will look into Robert Greene’s plays in order to demonstrate how the dramaturgical differences between playwrights could lead to distinct styles of spatial practices, and subsequently how Weimann’s model can be problematised by the assumption of a popular theatre that belongs primarily to Shakespeare. By employing primarily narratological vocabularies such as mimesis and diegesis, I am not replacing Weimann’s monumental terms but simply hoping to resort to a language that is not yet problematised by the physical elements of space on stage and not complicated by a model of plays on which Weimann bases his thesis in order to demonstrate how spatial practices and distinctions vary from repertory to repertory.

### **Robert Greene and the Transgression of Narrative Space**

Plays that have been associated with Greene include *Alphonsus King of Aragon*, *I Selimus*,<sup>85</sup> *The Scottish History of James IV*, *Orlando Furioso*, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *A Looking Glass for London and England* on which he collaborated with

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<sup>85</sup> Although the 1594 quarto does not specify authorship, an attribution to Robert Greene has been made by Alexander Grosart at the end of the nineteenth century (71-77). A discussion of Greene’s authorship in *I Selimus* can also be observed in Daniel Vitkus’ *Three Turks Plays From Early Modern England* (17-8).

Thomas Lodge and possibly *George a Green*.<sup>86</sup> Although a comparatively small repertory, the majority of Greene's plays are characterised by his innovative use of narrative through his experiments with various theatrical conventions – dumb shows, framing devices (i.e. prologues and inductions, chorus) and other meta-theatrical elements – which subsequently causes unusual styles of division and transgression between space and spatial practices.

I single out Robert Greene not simply because of his notorious remarks of Shakespeare as an upstart crow (albeit a remark made at the end of his career before the young star Shakespeare had fully established as a playwright), but mainly because his dramatic works demonstrate a unique style of dramaturgy which is distinctive from Shakespeare. Albeit moving towards a more coherent style of dramatic illusion such as Shakespeare's, Greene's dramaturgy is not illusionistic by default and can sometimes appear eccentric. The often incoherent and diverse lines of fictional worlds within a drama and the playful uses of dramatic convention in Greene's repertory, as I will subsequently demonstrate, create various ways of spatial division as well as transgression that are not only distinctive from Shakespeare's repertory but also from Weimann's model.

To begin with, Greene is rather playful with theatrical conventions. Albeit relatively straightforward in its dramatic narrative, *George a Green* is a play composed of a series of disguises and meta-dramatic moments performed by George's boy Willie, the Earl of Kendal and his train, King James and King Edward and the pinner himself. Willie's disguise as a woman enables Bettris to escape from her father Grime and helps her to reunite with her lover George a Green (D1<sup>r</sup>-D2<sup>r</sup> 612-669). This comic

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<sup>86</sup> In terms of the authorship of *George a Green*, see footnote 72 in Chapter Three.



trickery also leads to Grime's consent to the lovers' marriage in order to fulfil his own desire to marry the disguised boy before realizing Willie's true identity (G1<sup>r</sup> 1289-1296). In addition, the disguise of the Earl of Kendal and his train – in an attempt to trick Geroge and Jenkin with their horses (C2<sup>r</sup> -C3<sup>v</sup> 448- 536) – backfires as George, in the subsequent scene, concealed himself as an old man, prophesises the Earl's defeat and, after revealing his disguise, fights and takes the Earl and his followers prisoner (D2<sup>r</sup> -D3<sup>v</sup> 680-751). As the play reaches its conclusion, King Edward and King James similarly conceal their identity as common "pesants" (F2<sup>v</sup> 1142) in order to "make a merrie journey" (E2<sup>v</sup> 919) to meet this brave and popular hero. As they encounter each other in Bradford, Greene and Robin Hood also appear in disguise and are only recognised by the shoemaker after a fight over the shoemaker's insistence on having the two "travellers" (F2<sup>v</sup> 1143) trail their staves behind them according to the old Bradford custom. Eventually, the Kings' identities are also uncovered when Earl of Warwick brings out their royal garments (F3<sup>v</sup> 1190-3). The recurrent staging of different characters in disguise calls forth a spatial practice that plays on the idea of play-acting itself. Albeit a theatrical device not uncommon in Elizabethan plays, *Geroge a Greene* is rather intriguing in its frequent requirement of such a mimetic as well as meta-theatrical practice.

In addition, Greene's employment of theatrical convention can be at times extreme and unconventional. This can be seen in his employment of long speeches and monologues in *I Selimus*. Albeit a common device in early modern plays, the use of long speeches stands out in this play due to their exceptional length. For instance, in the first scene, Bajazet's opening monologue contains 109 lines (A3<sup>r</sup> -A4<sup>v</sup> 7-115) alone and Selimus's entrance speech in the subsequent scene further contains an even more impressive 150 lines. The length of these speeches is extraordinary in

comparison with other monologues in professional plays in this period. For instance, the longest Shakespearean soliloquy is only composed of 72 lines which can be found in *3 Henry VI* by Gloucester (3.2.124-195). Also, the longest speech in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* – a play that is often considered most influential to Greene's *Selimus* in terms of language and theme – consists of 56 lines (I.5.1.135-190).

It is also important to note the function and content of the speeches here. Bajazet's long opening soliloquy is a self-addressed speech which provides information of past and present events as well as clues to future actions. The long speech demonstrates a diegetic style of spatial practice which not only distinguishes itself from Bajazet's subsequent dialogue with his courtiers but also demarcates the fictional location onstage from the world of the audience:

BAJAZET. So Bajazet, now thou remainst alone,  
 Unrip the thoughts that harbour in thy brest,  
 ...  
 I, though on all the world we make extent,  
 From the South-pole unto the Northern beares,  
 And stretch our raig from East to Western shore  
 ...  
 The Christian Armies, oftentimes defeated  
 By my victorious fathers valiance,  
 Have all my Captaines famously confronted,  
 And crackt in two our uncontrolled lance.  
 ...  
 But I shall have more home-borne outrages,  
 Unless my divination aimes amiss:  
 I have three sonnes all of unequall ages,  
 And all in diverse studies set their blisse.  
 Corcut my eldest a Philosopher,  
 Acomat pompous, Selmi a warriour  
 ...  
 Acomat loves to court it with his wife,  
 And in a pleasant quiet joyes to pause:  
 But Selmi followes warres in dismall strife,  
 And snatcheth at my Crowne with greedy clawes:  
 ...  
 If Corcut, Selimus, and Acomat,  
 With crowns and kingdoms shal their hungers fill?  
 Poor Bajazet what then remaines to thee?  
 But the bare title of thy dignitie.  
 (A3<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>v</sup> 7-107)

From Bajazet's inner struggle with the various external invasions against his state to the "home-borne outrages" (A4<sup>r</sup> 79) caused by his three sons Corcut, Selimus and Acomat who compete with one another for the crown, Bajazet's 109-line monologue provides crucial background knowledge of the play. It is also important to notice how a monologue like this one, a revelation of the character's inner status and position, could serve the purpose to distinguish the fictional world of the Ottoman Empire onstage from its contemporary English audience.

Unlike Weimann's analysis of the Shakespearean monologue-like statements which is often used to distinguish a platea-driven style of acting, the lengthy monologues in *I Selimus* demonstrate how the usage of long speeches or chorus-like statements, instead of bringing the audience closer to the fictional space onstage, helps to dissociate the world of the play from the physical space of the performance. From this extreme usage of long speeches in *I Selimus*, Greene demonstrates not only a playful interchange between the two mutually exclusive styles of narrative but also an extreme contrast between spatial practices.

Other unconventional styles of dramaturgy in Greene's repertory can also be seen in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* in which the use of spectacles and dumb-show-like moments also demonstrate a unique style of the interplay between the mimetic and diegetic practices. Dumb shows are not uncommon in professional adult plays in this period and indeed such a pure mimetic dramatic convention can be largely observed in other repertories such as plays by Kyd and Shakespeare as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. However, Greene's use of this kind of diegetic style of spatial practice is rather striking as the dumb show is hidden in the form of Friar Bacon's spectacle and it only remains in the form of a dumb show to the Prince onstage but

not to the audience (Mehl 176). In scene VI, as Friar Bacon performs the spectacle to Prince Edward through his looking glass, the stage is demarcated by two fictional locations – Friar Bacon’s study and Fressingfield – as well as by a very unusual interplay between the diegetic and mimetic styles of spatial practices. Bacon’s looking glass provides the views of Bungay, Margaret and Earl of Lincoln in Fressingfield to Edward, but Edward is only allowed access to “look” and “sit still and marke the sequell of their [Margaret and Lincoln’s] loves” (D1<sup>v</sup> 744) but not hear the conversation between them. For instance, Edward at his first observation mistakes Friar Bungay’s intention as to “cour[t] the bonny wench” (C4<sup>v</sup> 678) even though the dialogue indicates that Bungay only reveals the Earl’s true identity to Margaret and Margaret expresses her affection for the Earl of Lincoln, Lacy. This is also made clear when Edward only reacts (D2<sup>r</sup> 762) when the lovers kiss but not earlier when Lacy proposes to make Margaret countess (D2<sup>r</sup> 755, 757).

LACY. Say, shall I make thee countesse ere I sleep?  
MARGARET. Handmaid unto the earl so please himself;  
A wife in name, but servant in obedience.  
LACY. The Lincolne countesse, for it shalbe so.  
Ile plight the bands, and seale it with a kisse.  
EDWARD. Gogs wounds Bacon they kiss, Ile stab them,  
(D2<sup>r</sup> 757-762)

As Edward can only see but not hear the “comédie” (D1<sup>r</sup> 683) of Fressingfield, what the Prince sees through the looking glass is purely mimetic and analogous to the theatrical convention of a dumb show. As Friar Bacon frequently asks Edward to “mark” and comment on what he sees, Edward’s observation also functions similarly as the chorus, albeit an often incorrect one, and demonstrates a more diegetic style of spatial practice. The stage in this scene is not simply divided by the two fictional locations –Oxford and Fressingfield – but also divided by the unique spatial practices of a dumb show and a mutually inaudible scene in which the audience’s perception is

different from any of the characters onstage. The comedy in Fressingfield is primarily mimetic whilst the scene in Bacon's study is a combination of the mimetic as well as the diegetic style of spatial practices as Bacon and Edward watch and comment on Lacy, Margaret and Bungay. The distinction of the two narrative spaces, however, is further complicated when Bacon performs another spectacle to intervene in the nuptial ceremony between Lacy and Margaret. Although Bacon warns Edward throughout the scene to "hold [his] hands" as it is merely "the glass" (D2<sup>r</sup> 763) and that "'Twere a long poniard . . . to reach betweene Oxford and Fressingfield" (D2<sup>r</sup> 766-7), Bacon, at the Prince's request to prevent the marriage, "stop[s] the jolly friar / For mumbling up his orisons this day" (D2<sup>r</sup> 784-5) and leaves Bungay "mute, crying Hud hud" (D2<sup>r</sup> 787) as the subsequent stage direction shows. The trespassing of the two fictional locations and narrative spaces is further demonstrated as Bacon conjures up a devil who literally carries Bungay on his back off the stage.

In this scene, the stage is distinguished by the unusual usage of theatre conventions and the presence of two separate fictional locations. More importantly, Greene's unique style of dramaturgy also demonstrates how easily such spatial divisions can be trespassed as well as divided through his playful use of theatrical devices. Greene's employment of Bacon's spectacles and the looking glass enables him to transport characters between the magical and the real as well as between Fressingfield and Oxford.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Similar examples can also be observed in various occasions in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. For instance, in Act 1 Scene 3, Faustus conjures up Mephistopheles who under Faustus' command enters his study from the underworld and changes his shape into a friar. The difference between Marlowe and Greene, however, lies in the fact that the spatial practices required in *Doctor Faustus* here are all controlled mimetically and remain distinctive from the spatial division caused by Greene's playful disposition of an unconventional mimetic dumb show and a diegetic presenter like Prince Edward in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*.

In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Greene demonstrates an interesting way of using dramatic conventions such as dumb shows and spectacles which subsequently create a unique style of division and transgression of the fictional locations through Friar Bacon's magical ability. Spatial practices, however, can be further complicated when different levels of story world(s) exist. In the following paragraphs, I will look into Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England* as well as *The Scottish History of James IV*. These plays – introduced, explained and/or commented by chorus-like figures alien to the world of the main action – demonstrate even more complex models of spatial division and sometimes violation between the diegetic levels.

In *A Looking Glass for London and England*, although the location remains primarily in the fictional Nineveh, the spatial practice is complicated by the presence of an Angel, Oseas and Jonas as well as by the function and style of these characters' speeches. As we have discussed in the last chapter, the distinction between the diegetic and mimetic style of narrative shown in Oseas' speeches is also consistently distinguished typographically in the 1594, 1598 and 1602 editions of the play printed by Thomas Creede. The narrative spatial division here is primarily dependent on the function and style of Oseas' speeches – either when he is interacting with the Angel (i.e. mimetic) or when he mainly functions as a chorus and commentates on the sins and sinners in Nineveh to Londoners (i.e. diegetic). As Oseas does not interact with any of the main characters in the play apart from the angel, his comments at the end of each scene cause a distinction spatially from the main plot. Summoned by an Angel to sit and observe those heavy in sins, Oseas appears to remain onstage to watch the events in Nineveh.

*Enter brought in by an Angell Oseas the Prophet, and set  
downe over the Stage in a Throne.*

ANGEL. . . .

Loe I have brought thee onto Ninivie.

. . . .

Note then, Oseas, all their greivous sinnes,  
And see the wrath of God that paies revenge.

. . . .

Ile carry thee to Jewry backe againe,  
And seate thee in the great Jerusalem;  
There shalt thou publish in her open streetes  
That God sends downe his hatefull wrath for sin

. . . .

Sit thee Oseas pondring in the spirit  
The Mightinesse of these fond peoples sinnes.

OSEAS. The will of the Lord be done.

*Exit Angel*

*Enters the Clowne and his crew of Ruffians,  
to go to drinks.*

(1594, B1<sup>v</sup>)<sup>88</sup>

Upon Oseas' first entrance, no stage direction or dialogue indicates Oseas to exit until he is "taken away" towards the end of the play (1755.1; 1594, H1<sup>r</sup>).

ANGEL. Thou shalt not see the desolation  
That falles unto these cursed Ninivites,  
But shalt returne to great Jerusalem,  
And preach unto the people of thy God,

. . . .

OSEAS. The will of the Lord be done.

*Oseas taken away.*

(1594, H1<sup>r</sup>)

Oseas appears to remain onstage, albeit not interacting with the rest of the characters in the main actions and only speaks at the end of each scene to preach to Londoners to "look on" (B3<sup>v</sup>), "take heed" (C1<sup>v</sup>), "Repent" (F1<sup>v</sup>, G2<sup>v</sup>-G3<sup>r</sup>) and "with inward eies behold / What lessons the events do here unfold" (H1<sup>r</sup>). The spatial practice required for Oseas, apart from his dialogue with the Angel, is primarily diegetic as he comments on events without participating in them. And since Oseas has no direct interaction with the sinners, he is spatially distinguished from the

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<sup>88</sup> Richard Hosley, in his "The Gallery over the Stage in Public Playhouse of Shakespeare's Time", speculates that "a raised production-area is apparently designated by the adverb *over the stage*, presumably because Hosea, as a 'presenter' placed at an undescribed point of observation after descending from the 'heavens' via the 'lift', uses the gallery especially in its function . . . as a place for audience" (21). However, such a hypothesis could be problematic, because, as demonstrated in Chapter Three, the play could have been performed at a wide range of venues if it had been taken up by the Queen's Men on tour. It is also important to note that the promptbook copy of the play provides no clues to the rather complex requirement of getting Oseas on and off stage (Baskervill 50).

fictional location of Nineveh and functions as a hetero-diegetic commentator.

It is also important to notice the command given by the Angel to him in the first place. Oseas is asked to mark the sin in Nineveh but not for the purpose of preaching to Londoners. He is promised instead to be taken back to “Jewry” and to “publish in her open streetes / That God sends downe his hatefull wrath for sin” (B1<sup>v</sup>). What happens in Nineveh, therefore, is simply “a looking glass” for those in Jewry, and both Oseas and the Angel appear not only spatially detached as they do not interact with the Ninevites but they seem to belong to a complete, separate level of narrative.

However, the distinction of spatial practices in this play becomes even more intriguing if we examine the presence of a second commentator and preacher to the sinners in Nineveh. Although Oseas remains as the main chorus throughout the first two thirds of the play, his function and presence are paralleled and eventually replaced by that of Jonas the prophet who takes Oseas’ role and preaches directly to Londoners at the end of the play. Jonas, similarly commanded by the Angel, is however introduced differently from Oseas. Throughout the majority of his stage presence, Jonas appears more as an integral part of the main plot instead of an observer mostly aloof from the stage actions, like Oseas. He enters the stage “Solus” and in a self-addressed speech declares how he “walk[s] to thinke upon the world, / And sigh to see thy Prophets so contem’d . . . by cursed Israell” (D4<sup>v</sup>) before he is approached by the Angel. Jonas is then commanded to “hast . . . quickly hence; / To Ninivie” so as to “Preach unto them these tidings from thy God . . . ” (D4<sup>v</sup>). Before he accepts the divine order, Jonas flees to Tarsus and Joppa. He appears to be swallowed by a whale during his escape from God’s will, and, eventually, he is



“cast out of the whale’s belly” in a stage direction (F3<sup>v</sup>). The spatial practice required by Jonas thus far is largely distinguished from Oseas as Jonah remains within the fictional world on which Oseas commentates:

JONAS. Jehouah, I am prest to do thy will.

...

Exit

OSEAS. You prophets, learne by Jonas how to live,  
Repent your sinnes, whilst he doth warning give.  
Who knows his maisters will and doth it not,  
Shall suffer many stripes, full well I wot.

(F4<sup>r</sup>)

It is worth noting, however, that Jonas, after accepting his divine mission, mirrors Oseas by preaching to the sinners in Nineveh as Oseas continues to comment on the overall action onstage and preaches to those offstage. Both function as preachers – one working mainly within the mimetic fictional location of Nineveh; the other functioning mainly as a chorus in the hetero-diegetic level with occasional encounters with the Angel.

The function and spatial practice required of the Angel thus become rather peculiar as he acts as the medium between the sinners of Nineveh and the fictional locations/characters outside of it (i.e. Oseas). His interaction with Oseas makes him exist in a hetero-diegetic level to begin with, as both the Angel and Oseas appear to be observers of the sins and sinners in Nineveh without direct interaction. As Oseas is promised to be taken back and preach to those in Jerusalem, what happens in Nineveh, thus, appears to function as a looking glass for Oseas to note down so as to reform those in Jerusalem despite the fact that he preaches directly to the audience throughout the play. However, the Angel’s later encounter with Jonas makes him an integral part of the main action as his command to the second preacher is to directly intervene with those in Nineveh.

The transgression between the two narrative levels is not only seen in the role of the Angel but eventually in Jonas's. As Oseas is taken away, Jonas takes his role as a chorus at the end of the play and speaks directly to the audience:

JONAS. O London, mayden of the Mistresse Ile,  
Wrapt in the foldes and swathing cloutes of shame,  
In thee more Sinnes then Ninivie containes,  
Contempt of God, dispight of reverend age,  
Neglect of law, desire to wrong the poore,  
...  
London awake, for feare the Lord do frowne;  
I set a looking glasse before thine eyes.  
O turne, O turne, with weeping to the Lord,  
And thinke the praiers and virtues of thy Quenne,  
(1594, 14<sup>v</sup>)

This chorus-like statement which entreats London to repent not only functions similarly to Oseas' previous speeches but also reveals Jonas' change of relationship with the audience. The styles of spatial practices required in this play are, therefore, complicated by the multiple purposes and functions of the three characters and the frequent changes of relationship they have with one another as well as with the audience as they move between different levels of diegesis.

The division as well as violation between spatial practices and levels of diegesis are even more complicated in Greene's *The Scottish History of James IV*. The play, at least divided into three levels of diegesis, includes three dumb shows, the story of James IV as well as the presence of Bohan the Scot and Oberon the fairy King whose dialogue framed the "history". It opens with a conversation between Oberon and Bohan in which Bohan promises to explain to the King of the faries his reason for forsaking the world by dwelling in a tomb:

BOHAN. Now King, if thou be a King, I will shew thee whay I  
 hate the world by demonstration, in the year 1520, was in  
 Scotland, a king overruled with parasites, misled by lust, & ma-  
 ny circumstances, too long to trattle on now, much like our  
 court in Scotland this day, that story have I set down . . .

(107-111)

The “history of James IV” is thus introduced as Bohan’s motive for his way of life as Bohan assures the King to tell a tale “in mirkest terms” (D1<sup>v</sup> 713) of the corruption in the Scottish court in which the lust driven James IV attempts to murder his newly wedded Queen Dorothea, daughter of the English King, so as to pursue the Scottish Ida. What happens in the Scottish court can be seen as a story within a story – a primarily mimetic practice – with Bohan as the hetero-diegetic narrator.

Oberon, in his attempt to respond to Bohan’s jig, also tells tales through the theatrical convention of dumb shows:

OBERON. But looke my Bohan, pompe allureth.  
*Enter Cirus king, humbling themselves: himselfe crowned by  
 Olive Pat, at last dying, layde in a marbell tombe with this  
 inscription*  
 Who so thou bee that passest,  
 For I know one shall passe, knowe I  
 I am Cirrus of Persia,  
 And I prithee leave me not thus like a clod of clay  
 Wherewith my body is covered.

*All Exeunt.*

*Enter the king in great pompe, who reads it, & issueth,  
 crieth vermeum.*

...  
 OBERON. Cyrus of Persia,  
 Mightie in life, within a marbell grave  
 Was layde to rot, whom Alexander once  
 Beheld in tombde, and weeping did confesse  
 Nothing in life could scape from wretchedness  
 (C4<sup>v</sup>-D1<sup>r</sup> 675-691)



Slipper “a wandering life . . . and avow that if in all distresses he call upon me to helpe him” (A4<sup>v</sup> 103-4). This “wide world” they enter, interestingly, as their subsequent appearance reveals, is this supposed Scotland in “1520” (A4<sup>v</sup> 108). At their second entry, the two brothers seek to provide their services “with their billes readie written in their hands” (C1<sup>r</sup> 409-10). Their encounter with Ateukin secures both of them a place at the Court: Nano is promised to be presented “to the Queene” (C3<sup>r</sup> 541) whilst Slipper is taken by Ateukin to “look either on my bill or my selfe” (C3<sup>r</sup> 546). And throughout the subsequent scenes, the two brothers not only become integral part of the action but are crucial to the development of the plot.

Nano, the loyal servant to Dorothea, at the discovery of the King’s intent to murder Dorothea, helps the Queen to flee in disguise (F4<sup>v</sup> 1489, 1492-1497), warrants her to defend her “if there grow debate” (G1<sup>r</sup> 1530) and eventually at Dorothea’s request accompanies her to “repaire” the war caused by her absence (J4<sup>v</sup> 2317). Slipper, on the other hand, albeit insisting at first that he and Nano “must serve together” and “will die together” (C2<sup>v</sup> 530), takes a very different road from his brother by serving the “parasite” Ateukin (K3<sup>r</sup> 2491). His presence in the “history” is significant to the development of the main action as he steals a crucial piece of evidence that leads to the discovery of the plot against the Queen.

Both brothers become important figures in the history and their presence in both the induction as well as the story that is supposedly narrated by their father complicates the spatial practices/division as they wander between the two fictional worlds. The two brothers’ intrusion into the main plot and Oberon’s later intervention to rescue Slipper cause a metalepsis between the two diegetic levels. Such kinds of violation between the two narrative worlds can be best seen at the beginning of Act 3:

BOHAN. So Oberon, now it beginnes to worke in kinde,  
 The auncient Lords by leaving him alive,  
 Disliking of his humors and respight,  
 Let him run headlong till his flatterers,  
 Sweeting his thoughts of lucklesse lust,  
 With vile perswations and alluring words,  
 Makes him make way by murther to his will,  
 Judge fairie king, hast heard a greater ill?

...  
 BOHAN. To change that humour stand and see the rest,  
 I trow my sonne Slipper will shewes a jest;  
*Enter Slipper with a companion, bog, or wench, dauncing a  
 hornpipe, and daunce out againe.*

BOHAN. Now after this beguiling of our thoughts,  
 And changing them from sad to better glee,  
 Lets to our sell, and sit and see thee rest,  
 For I believe this Jig will prooue no jest. *Exeunt*  
*Chorus Actus 3. Schena Prima.*  
*Enter Slipper one way, and S. Bartram another way.*  
 (E4<sup>r</sup> 1166-1186)

As the chorus and narrator of the play, Bohan summarises the corruption of the Scottish court that has previously occurred in action. He subsequently summons Slipper to show a jest (E4<sup>r</sup> 1178) to lighten the mood but then promises Oberon that the jig he is to show “will prooue no jest” (E4<sup>r</sup> 1186). However, In the short span of 8 lines (E4<sup>r</sup> 1179-1186), Slipper dances in and out of the presence of his father and Oberon (E4<sup>r</sup> 1179-80), and, at Bohan and Oberon’s exit, Slipper immediately reappears in the next scene in which he agrees to Bartram to steal “certaine letters . . . From out of [his] maisters pocket” (E4<sup>v</sup> 1225-6). Slipper’s presence in the induction, chorus, as well as the history narrated by Bohan thus makes him an interesting figure as he trespasses the two different levels of diegesis. His dance as well as his bond with Bohan makes him an integral part of a narrative that frames the story of James IV, but his subsequent entrance and encounter with Bartram also secure him a significant place in the development of the framed story.

Such kinds of division and metalepsis of the two story worlds – an intrusion caused “by the extra-diegetic narrator or narratee into the diegetic universe” (Genette

234-5) – are a recurrent theme in this play as Bohan and Oberon are also involved in similar violations by intervening the main plot when Slipper is doomed to be hanged.

Bohan, learning his son's fate, cries:

BOHAN. What hang my son? I trowe not Obiran:  
Ile rather die, then see him woe begon.  
*Enter a rownd, or some daunce at Pleasure.*  
OBERON. Bohan be pleased, for do they what they will,  
Heere is my hand, Ile save thy son from ill.  
(H3<sup>r</sup> 1934-8)

And without failing his promise, Oberon employs his power and has Antiques “carrie away the Clowne” when Slipper is about to be executed (K1<sup>v</sup> 2398).

Greene's challenging vision of dramatic illusion and his employment of theatrical convention create a unique model of spatial division and transgression as characters of different worlds and with different functions trespass each other's territories. More importantly, not only does Greene's style of dramaturgy cause unique spatial division and transgression between different levels of diegesis, it also challenges the conventional relationship between visualisation and meaning.

Although the induction character Bohan in *The Scottish History of James IV* promises to explain to Oberon his reason to forsake the world, his supposed tale of corruption which he promises to tell “in mirkest terms” (D1<sup>v</sup> 713), as Gieskes points out, “becomes a pastoral, comic play that culminates in a mass reconciliation between couples, nations and kings in which only the servants are punished” (Gieskes 60). Bohan's theatrical demonstration to justify his misanthropic attitude turns into a failure when James' crime is redeemed and the crisis of the play resolved.

Interestingly, it is perhaps Oberon's reciprocal dumb shows that make Bohan's

decision to withdraw from the world more understandable. All the early modern editions of the play place the three dumb shows immediately after the first chorus between the first two acts and each of them is subsequently elaborated and explained by Oberon:

1.

*Enter two battailes strongly fighting, the one Simi Ranus, the other, Staurobates, she flies, and her Crowne is taken, and she hurt.*

...

OBERON. This shewes thee Bohan what is worldly pompe.  
Simeranus, the proud Assirian Queene,  
When Ninus died, did tene in her warres  
. . . yet in her pride  
Was hurt and conquered by S. Taurobates.  
Then what is pomp?

(C4<sup>v</sup> 660-667)

2.

*Enter Cirus king, humbling themselves: himselfe crowned by Olive Pat, at last dying, layde in a marbell tombe with this inscription*  
*Who so thou bee that passest,*  
*For I know one shall passes, knowe I*  
*I am Cirrus of Persia,*  
*And I prithee leave me not thus like a clod of clay*  
*Wherewith my body is covered.*

*All exeunt.*

*Enter the king in great pompe, who reads it, & issueth, crieth vermeum.*

...

OBERON. Cyrus of Persia,  
Mighty in life, within a marbell grave  
Was layde to rot, whom Alexander once  
Beheld in tombde, and weeping did confesse  
Nothing in life could scape from wretchedness.

(D1<sup>r</sup> 675-691)

3.

*Enter our kings carrying Crowns, Ladies presenting ordors to Potentates in thrond, who suddainly is slaine by his servaunts, and thrust out, and so they eate.*

...

OBERON. Sesostris who was conqueror of the world,  
Slaine at the last, and stampt on by his slaves.

(D1<sup>r-v</sup> 700-706)

The three dumb shows – from the defeat of Simeranus, the proud Assyrian queen,



the rotting corpse of Cyrus of Persia to the betrayed Sesostris – seem to point out the futility and vanity of the world with three examples of fallen princes as Oberon, after presenting each pantomime, repeatedly questions rhetorically: “[w]hat is pomp” (C4<sup>v</sup> 667) and “[w]hy then boast men” (D1<sup>r</sup> 692)? It appears that Oberon’s presentations are more appropriate than Bohan’s narration of the “history of James IV” to provide reason of his misanthropy as the subsequent comic ending in the Scottish court will not explain Bohan’s stoicism.

Interestingly, what these two characters reveal here through their jigs and pomps are the difficulties of defining the meaning of a narrative as well as a performative space within a play. As both of them attempt to communicate with each other through story-telling, they both seem unable to understand each other’s tales and the meaning their stories convey. Bohan’s presentation is a play in which characters speak for themselves, and the audiences, including Oberon, are left to judge if his tale clarifies his intention. As Bohan’s dramatic narrative fails to explain his reason to forsake the world, Oberon, unable to understand his gig, is prompted to question Bohan “How should these crafts withdraw thee from the world” (C4<sup>r</sup> 673).

Oberon’s dumb shows, albeit presenting a more familiar and conventional allegorical relationship between visual imagery and meaning, prove to be equally confusing as Bohan always responds to them with more questions: “What gars this din of mirk and balefull harme” (C4<sup>v</sup> 658), “whilke is he I sawe” (D1<sup>r</sup> 704) and most importantly, “What meaneth this” (D1<sup>r</sup> 686)? Eventually, the supposed narrator, Bohan, is upstaged by Oberon who commands the fairies to sing Bohan a lullaby to rest. Bohan’s presentation, as Gieskes points out, appears logically incomprehensible, and the theme and purpose of his play are blurred (68). In the end, Greene’s

unconventional dramatic vision not only breaks the boundary between different levels of diegesis; his reinvention of the purpose and function of story-telling also challenges the traditional relationship between playwrights, actors, audiences, characters and the diverse (fictional) spaces within a play. In Gieskes' words, *The Scottish History of James IV* "demonstrates a sophisticated and ambivalent awareness of theatrical convention in the many meta-theatrical comments that appear throughout the play" (69). And it is perhaps because of such an awareness that we are provided with a unique vision of dramatic illusion and subsequently a series of spatial divisions and transgressions distinctive from his contemporaries.

In the last part of this chapter, I would like to pay attention to Greene's *Alphonsus King of Aragon*, a supposed narrated story of Alphonsus by Venus and the nine muses. The spatial division in this play is marked by the diegetic style of narrative performed by the chorus figures in the inductions, epilogues and at the beginning of each act as well as the mimetic mode of the framed story of Alphonsus in which dumb-show-like moments occur repeatedly. For instance, several characters that are important enough to be named and take part in the stage actions are not given lines in the play at all which renders their presence onstage a pure mimetic practice. The most significant example is the usurping King of Aragon Flaminus. The only scene in which Flaminus appears is in the beginning of Act 2 in which he is slain almost as soon as he enters the stage.

*Strike up alarum. Enter Flaminus at one doore, Alphonsus  
at an other, they fight, Alphonsus kill Flaminus.*

(B4<sup>v</sup> 392-3)

It is impossible to estimate how long Greene intends the scene to last, but it is interesting how the presence and function of Flaminus is purely mimetic as he

remains mute in his entire stage presence. The function of Flaminius therefore is more akin to a pantomime character in a dumb show and demonstrates a sharp contrast spatially with the other characters in the main part.

In addition, the spatial division in this play is also characterised by the use of a framing device and the existence of the two fictional worlds that appear in completely separate time and space. Albeit more conventional in comparison with the previous examples as the two levels of diegesis in *Alphonsus King of Aragon* lack direct interaction with each other, it is worth noting Greene's ambition to establish himself as a professional dramatist along with his effort to experiment with theatre conventions. The play begins with Venus complaining of the scarceness of poets and how a goddess is forced to step out and narrate the fame and glory of Alphonsus:

VENUS. Poets are scarce when Goddesses themselves  
Are first to leave their high and stately seats  
Placed on the top of high Olympus Mount,  
To seeke them out, to pen their Champions praise  
...  
No Venus no, though Poets prove unkind,  
And loth to stand in penning of his deeds,  
Yet rather then they shall be cleane forgot  
...  
And this my hand which used for to pen  
The praise of love, and Cupids peerles power,  
Will now begin to treat of bloudie Mars,  
Of doughtie deeds and valiant victories.  
(A3<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>v</sup> 3-43)

Such an evocation of the goddesses can be recognised as the dramatist's attempt to establish this play's authority by attaching it to some divine power. However, the induction also functions to emphasise the significance of poets in the process of a theatre production. This can be seen not only in Venus' lament of how no poet would narrate the story of Alphonsus, but also in the quarrel between the muses.

Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, is mocked by her sisters of how she “stand[s] still lazing” whilst the rest of them play on their strings (A4<sup>r</sup> 64-5) and is questioned how long her “painful pen” will rest enough (A4<sup>r</sup> 85-6).

This constant reinforcement of the importance of a great poet perhaps illustrates Greene’s ambition to establish himself as a more professional dramatist who seems to distinguish himself from the young actor-author Shakespeare. And as we have observed in his plays, Greene indeed succeeded in developing a unique dramaturgy with his challenging and sometimes inconsistent dramatic illusion as well as his less than conventional style of employing as well as reinventing theatrical devices. As a large number of devices in Greene’s plays were not fully established conventions when he was using them, Greene appeared to have gradually made up devices and practices as he developed his dramaturgical style. Not only did he create various models of spatial divisions through his one-of-a-kind dramaturgy, he challenged the boundary and allowed his characters to wander and trespass between his dramatic illusions. Eventually, the spatial division as well as transgression in play-texts are determined by the author of the play and the dramaturgical style within a play-text. It is worth pointing out that such an emphasis on the importance of a poet in the process of a theatre production can also be seen in two anonymous plays: *The True Tragedy of Richard III* and *Clyomon and Clamydes*. The allegorical figures – Truth and Poetry – who open *The True Tragedy of Richard III* enquire each other the reason of them being players onstage. Although Poetry’s response “shadow” (A3<sup>r</sup>) appears diminishing to the role of poets, Truth’s reply “Then will I adde bodies to the Shadowes” (A3<sup>r</sup>) reinforces the authorial status of a playwright as a poet will only speak “truth”. Similarly, the prologue of *Clyomon and Clamydes* similarly emphasises the importance of an author:

And gentle ears, our Author be, is prest to bide the brunt  
Of babblers tongues, to whom he thinks, as frustrate all his toile,  
As peerless taste to filthy swine, which in the mire doth moile.  
Well, what he hath done for your delight, he gave not me in charge,  
The Actors come, who shall expresse the same to you at large.  
(A2<sup>v</sup>)

The play, albeit “expressed” by the actors, seems to lie in the hand of the author. As early modern dramas remain primarily in the form of printed play-texts to us, our understanding of them would be inevitably determined by the styles of their narratives. Eventually, it is a theatrical space shaped, defined, divided as well as undivided by dramaturgy. As I have demonstrated in this thesis, the spatial practices in early modern play-texts are primarily distinguished by the two mutually exclusive styles of narrative, mimesis and diegesis, as well as by the presence of different levels of story worlds (i.e. diegesis). As many theatre conventions in this period are characterised by the contrasting nature of these two styles of narrative, a playwright’s play and display of these conventions and the juxtaposition of these fundamentally distinctive practices would eventually cause a strong sense of spatial division and transgression. In the end, it is a space of narrative that ultimately becomes an issue concerning authors and the idiosyncratic style of their dramaturgy, for it is their employment and reinvention of dramatic devices that contributes to a unique style of spatial divisions.

## Conclusion

Throughout my search for space in early modern play-texts, what I have discovered is that the text-space rapport is often complicated by the assumption that a printed script is a record and report of an early modern performance. Either in the editorial practice or in the attempt to reconstruct early modern performance conditions through a repertory approach, theatrical and physical elements in the play-texts are often treated as an interpretable and decodable signifier from which the spatial dimensions of the early modern stages could be, at least to some degree, retrieved and the values and meanings that a play carries could be understood. Such a methodology, as demonstrated in Chapter Four, has also found its way into recent scholarly approaches to the para-textual materials of early modern plays as scholars decipher the significance of typeface, title page attribution and pictorial representations in playbooks in order to retrieve at least to some degree a sense of early modern theatrical space and performance.

The attempt to reconstruct an early modern performing environment thus becomes a process of repeatedly reading and interpreting play-texts as well as the para-textual materials in the playbooks. However, the significance of a play, the value and dimension of its performing space prove to be consistently difficult to capture even by the texts that are supposed to be used for such kinds of reconstruction. The process of interpretation is hardly a straightforward business and the play-texts used for this kind of reconstruction can not only generate a variety of meanings depending on the interpreters but can also prove uninterpretable especially when even the characters in the play itself seem to fail to understand one another.

Bohan's inability to perceive Oberon's shows, as I have discussed in the end of the last chapter, demonstrates the obstacles that lie in defining the meaning of a play-text and the performances of which we barely hold records. It is dangerous to treat an early modern printed play as an encoded early modern theatre production in order to retrieve the site of its performance and determine the meanings of a performance. The process of interpretation, as two characters in *The Scottish Historie of James IV* show, is hardly straightforward, and to define the meaning of a play/performance is never achievable simply through looking at a printed copy of the play-text. As the meaning of a play/performance could differ widely because of the diversity of the interpreters, it is not difficult to imagine Ben Jonson's frustration when he attempted to instruct his readers how his play should be read when preparing *The Staple of News* for publication in 1631. Unlike the customary position for the preliminaries, Jonson "inserted an address 'To the Readers' within the text of the play itself before the third act, in which the author complained to his readers how his intention was "wholly mistaken" and "so sinister an interpretation been made" by the audience when the play was first staged by the King's Men in February 1626 (Farmer 127). As Farmer has noted, what was revealed, as Jonson eagerly informed his readers the "allegory and purpose of the author," was his anxiety that some readers will inevitably interpret his plays differently (128).

Ultimately, my initial attempt to look for playhouse practice from printing house materials is unavoidably replaced by an understanding of space and its relation to play-text through dramaturgy. As our access to plays remains primarily in the form of narrative, the spatial indication, practice and distinction one can find in play-texts appear exclusively a matter of dramaturgy – determined by the interplay between the mimetic and the diegetic.

## Appendix A: Property Bills

The property bills compiled in this appendix are indebted to Frances Teague's methodology in *Shakespeare's Speaking Properties* and follow closely the lists made by Andrew Sofer in "Properties" in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*. Properties are only included when they appear necessary for the stage action. Similar to Sofer's approach, "when the text implies that a player handles a group of items together," they will only be categorised as one single item (565). A property at its second appearance, however, will not be listed in order to avoid repetition. Costumes are not included unless "they function as hand-properties" (Sofer 565). Musical instrument are also excluded unless it is crucial to the development of the plot since the musical cues found in early modern plays often do not specify the instruments needed. The following charts are the property bills of the group A plays from the Queen's Men's repertory. The props are listed in the order of their appearance.

### *Clyomon and Clamydes*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
A white Shield	37, 82	Juliana	Clamydes	exchange
A golden shield	104	Clyomon		carrying
Boots	119	Subtill Shift		Stuck in the mire
A mace	262	King of Suavia	Clyomon	exchange
"Head" of the flying serpent	637	Clamydes		On C's Sword
Clamydes' sword	637	Clamydes		Holding the head
Sword and Target	850	Subtill Shift		bringing
A bag of money	1225	Subtill Shift		carrying
A weapon/Sword	1376	King of Norway		fight
Clyomon's Sword	1376	Clyomon		fight
A dog	1391	Coryn		Appearing with Coryn
Hearse	1449	Coryn		bringing

### *The Famous Victories of Henry V*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
Five hundred	A2 <sup>r</sup> ; A2 <sup>v</sup>	Ned	Henry V	N shows H



pound/ bag				
Four hundred pound/ bag	A2 <sup>r</sup> ; A2 <sup>v</sup>	Tom	Henry V	T shows H
One hundred pound/ bag	A2 <sup>v</sup>	Jockey	Henry V	J shows H
weapon	A4 <sup>v</sup>	Thief	Derick	D tries to get T's weapon
A dagger	C2 <sup>v</sup>	Henry V		In H's hand
A crown	C3 <sup>v</sup>	Henry V		H's takes the C
A Tune of Tennis Balles	D3 <sup>r</sup>	Archbishop of Burges	Henry V	exchange
A potlid	D4 <sup>v</sup>	Cobler's wife	Derick	C beats D
A dagger	D4 <sup>v</sup>	Derick	Cobler's wife	D shows C
Money?	F1 <sup>r</sup>	Henry V	French Herald	exchange
A sword	F2 <sup>v</sup>	A French man	Derick	D takes F's sword
Shoes	F4 <sup>r</sup>	Derick		D enters with his girdle full of Shoes
A pack of apparel	F4 <sup>v</sup>	Cobler		C enters with it
A sword	G2 <sup>r</sup>	Henry V	Burgondie and Dophin	B and D kiss H's sword

### ***Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay***

<b>Prop</b>	<b>Appears</b>	<b>Passes from/Used by</b>	<b>To</b>	<b>Use in action</b>
Books	172	Miles		carrying under his arm
A shoulder of mutton on a spit	293-4	Tavern hostess		carrying
A rich purse	401	Lacy	Margaret	L offers M
Dagger	567	Warren		W attempts to draw his dagger
Dagger	568	Ermsby		E attempts to draw his dagger
Sword	572	Edward		E attempts to draw his sword
Friar Bacon's many toys	635	Friar Bacon		showing
Glass	643, 1869	Friar Bacon and Edward		They look into the glass; Bacon breaks it
Poniard	945	Edward		carrying
Tree	1197	Bacon		B conjures
Dragon	1198			Shooting fire
branches	1214	Hercules		H breaks the branches

Cloth	1325	Miles		bearing
Trenchers	1325	Miles		bearing
Salt	1325	Miles		bearing
Pottage and broth	1339-1340	Miles		bearing
A letter	1494	A post	Margaret	exchange
A bag of gold	1495	A post	Margaret	exchange
White stick	1561	Friar Bacon		carrying
A book	1562	Friar Bacon		carrying
A lamp	1562	Friar Bacon		F lights the lamp
Brazen head	1563			
weapons	1563	Miles		carrying
hammer	1637	A hand		A hand with hammer breaks the head
rapiers	1819	Lamber and Serlsby		L and S fight
daggers	1819	Lamber and Serlsby		L and S fight
weapons	1856	Sons of Lamber and Serlsby		They stab each other
A pointless sword	1074	The Emperor		carrying
A sword with a point	1075	King of Castile		carrying
A globe	1076	Lacy		carrying
A rod of gold with a dove on it	1076	Edward and Warren		carrying
A crown	1077	Ermsby		carrying
A sceptre	1077	Ermsby		carrying

### *The Old Wives Tale*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
A lanthorne and a candle	38	Clunch		carrying
Cheese	75	Madge	Three brothers	exchange
Pudding	76	Madge	Three brothers	exchange
Hips and haws; sticks and straws	176-177	Erestus		gathering
Almes pennie	182	Calypha	Erestus	exchange
Almes pennie	186-187	Thelea	Erestus	exchange
A pot of honey	237	Lampriscus	Erestus	exchange
sword	311	Huanebango		bearing
Cake	382	Huanebango	Erestus	showing
Cake	402	Booby	Erestus	exchange
A pot	431	Delya		holding

Chine of beef	453	A friar	Sacrapant and Delya	presenting
A pot of wine	453	A friar	Sacrapant and Delya	presenting
sword	499	Calypha		C draws his S
sword	499	Thelea		T draws his S
A turf	512	Sacrapant		S removes a turf
A light in a glasse	512	Sacrapant		S shows
Pike staff	574	Wiggen	Sexton	W threatens with a pike staff
Fifteene-sixteene shillings	617-620	Eumenidies	Sexton	exchange
Gold	700	Sacrapant	Delya	exchange
Spade	712-3	Calypha		digging
Spade	712-3	Thelea		digging
Well	744	Zantypa		Z goes to the W
Pot	744, 796	Zantypa		bearing and breaking against the head of the well
Pitcher	751, 765	Celanta	Zantypa	C bearing and Z breaks C's pot
Head	784			coming out from the well
Pot	969	Zantypa		bearing to the well
Meat	916	Hostes		bringing
Table	917	Hostes		Hostes brings meat on the table
Purse full of money	937	Eumenidies		E's purse shows full of money
Ears of corn	972	Celanta	Head	C combs the corn off the head
Full of gold	983	Celanta	Head	C combs the gold off the head
wool	1002	Jack	Eumenidies	J gives E
Wreath	1012	Jack	Sacrapant	J takes the W from S's head
Sword	1013	Jack	Sacrapant	J takes the Sword from S
Horn	1051	Eumenidies		E winds the horn
Curtain	1060	Jack		Jack draws a curtain
Sacrapant's head	1085	Jack		carrying

### Three Lords and Three Ladies of London

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
rapier	A4 <sup>v</sup>	Two angels		Carrying in their hands
rapier	A4 <sup>v</sup>	Two angels		Carrying in their hands
Shield	B1 <sup>r</sup>	Policie		holding
Shield	B1 <sup>r</sup>	Pomp		holding
Shield	B1 <sup>r</sup>	pleasure		holding
Tarlton's Picture	C2 <sup>r</sup>	Simplicite	Wealth, Wit and Will	S showing
Tankard	C2 <sup>v</sup>	Painful Penurie		P bearing
Stone	D1 <sup>v</sup>	Sorrow	Love	S sit L on
Stone	D1 <sup>v</sup>	Sorrow	Lucre	S sit L on
Stone	D1 <sup>v</sup>	Sorrow	Conscience	S sit C on
Cloak	D4 <sup>r</sup>	Usurie/Fraud	Conscience	U taking F's cloak to C
Ten shillings	E3 <sup>v</sup>	Simplicite	Fraud	exchange
Gold buttons	E3 <sup>v</sup>	Fraud	Simplicite	exchange
Gold rings	E3 <sup>v</sup>	Fraud	Simplicite	exchange
Weapons	F4 <sup>v</sup>	3 or 4 companions to Simplicite		bearing
shield	G1 <sup>v</sup>	Pride		bearing
shield	G1 <sup>v</sup>	Ambition		bearing
shield	G1 <sup>v</sup>	Tyrannie		bearing
lance	G1 <sup>v</sup>	Shame		bearing
lance	G1 <sup>v</sup>	Trecherie		bearing
lance	G1 <sup>v</sup>	Terror		bearing
rapier	H1 <sup>r</sup>	Pride		flourish
rapier	H1 <sup>r</sup>	Ambition		flourish
rapier	H1 <sup>r</sup>	Tyrannie		flourish
paper	H2 <sup>r</sup>	Fraud	Policie	F shows P
paper	H2 <sup>v</sup>	Dissimulation	Pleasure	D gives P
Marking iron	H2 <sup>v</sup>	Diligence		
paper	H3 <sup>r</sup>	Simplicite	Three Lords	S gives the Lords
Purse and two hundred angels	H4 <sup>v</sup>	Fraud	Diligence	F shows D
Another purse	H4 <sup>v</sup>	Fraud	Diligence	exchange
Truncheon	I2 <sup>v</sup>	Diligence		carring
Lance	I2 <sup>v</sup>	A boy		carrying Policie's lance
Lance	I2 <sup>v</sup>	A boy		carrying Pomp's Lance
Lance	I2 <sup>v</sup>	A boy		Carrying Pleasure's Lance
torches	I3 <sup>r</sup>	Fraud, three boys and Simplicite		bearing
One angel	I3 <sup>v</sup>	Fraud	Simplicite	exchange

### *The True Tragedy of Richard III*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
A bed	B1 <sup>v</sup> 192	Edward IV		E dies in his bed
A letter	B4 <sup>v</sup> 386	Page of Buckingham	Richard	exchange
Money?	C1 <sup>r</sup> 440	Richard	Percival	exchange
A letter	D3 <sup>r</sup> 848	Cardinal	Queen	exchange
A dagger	F1 <sup>v</sup> 1331	Buckingham		B draws his dagger
weapons	F2 <sup>r</sup> 1367	Herald	Buckingham	B entreats H to lay down his weapons
A crown	H3 <sup>v</sup> 2035	Richmond		R enters with the crown

### *I The Troublesome Reign of King John*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
Weapon?	C2 <sup>v</sup>	Bastard		B indicates
Lion's skin	C4 <sup>r</sup>	Austrich Duke	Bastard	B makes A leaves it
Favour/ a token?	D1 <sup>r</sup>	Blanche	Bastard	exchange
A chest	F1 <sup>r</sup>	Friar Anthony	Bastard	F shows B
A press	F1 <sup>v</sup>	Nun Alice	Bastard	N shows B
Five moons	G2 <sup>v</sup>			appears
A paper of King John's "hand and seal"	G4 <sup>v</sup>	Hubert	King John	H shows K

### *II The Troublesome Reign of King John*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
A crown	C4 <sup>v</sup>	Cardinal Pandulph	King John	exchange
A cloth	E1 <sup>v</sup>	Two Friars		They lay it
A drink of poison	E2 <sup>r</sup>	Monk	King John	M offers K
daggers	E3 <sup>v</sup>	Barons		carrying

### *I Selimus*

Prop	Appears	Passes from/Used by	To	Use in action
A letter	972	Acomat	Bajazet	exchange

A letter	1073		Acomat	
A chair	1256			To carry Belierbey
two coffins	1256-7			To carry the corpses of Mahomet and Zonara
Aga's eyes	1415	Acomat	Aga	Acomat pulls out Aga's eyes
Aga's hands	1431, 1478	Regan	Aga	R cuts A's hands off
A letter	1538	A messenger	Selimus	exchange
A crown	1659	Bajaset	Selimus	exchange
A cup	1749, 1839	Abraham the Jew	Bajazet and Aga	Abraham drinks from the cup and followed by Bajazet and Aga
Meat	1909	Bullithrumble		B eats

## Appendix B: A List of Plays Printed by Thomas Creede

The list of plays is indebted to, but not identical with, that of Yamada in *Thomas Creede, printer to Shakespeare and his contemporaries* (241-3). Another three editions of *I The Honest Whore* printed partially by Creede are also included here (Weiss 64). The plays are listed in order of their appearance in print and the Stationers' Register when available. I have not normalised or modernised the last four columns in order to keep the original wording of the para-textual materials related to playing companies, theatre venues, and the history of the plays in production. The chart does not intend to provide all the available para-textual materials of the play books printed by Thomas Creede, but simply aims to draw attention to the para-textual elements which associate the dramas with the theatre. It is worth noting here that Creede are not responsible for the title pages of the 1609 editions of *Pericles* and the 1604 and 1605 editions of *I The Honest Whore*.<sup>89</sup>

Year of Print	Stationers' Register	Registered by	Play's Title/ Author (Modern Attribution)	Imprint (Printed for/ Sold by) <sup>90</sup>	Venue	Play company (Performed by)	Other indications of the play in performance	Generic attribution
1594	5/03/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>A Looking Glass for London and England</i> / T. Lodge, R. Greene	Sold by W. Barley	X	X	X	X
1594	12/03/1594	Thomas Millington	<i>II Henry VI (The first part of the Contention)</i> / W. Shakespeare	For T. Millington	X	X	X	"Tragicall"
1594	19/06/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>The True Tragedy of Richard III</i> / Anon.	Sold by W. Barley	X	"the Queenes Maiesties Players"	X	"Tragedie"
1594	No entry	X	<i>I Selimus</i> / Anon.		X	"the Queenes Maiesties Players"	X	"Tragicall"
1595	13/05/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>The Pedlar's Prophecy</i> / Anon.	Sold by William Barley	X	X	x	X
1595	10/06/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>Menaechmi</i> / Plautus; trans. W. W.	Sold by W. Barley	X	X	X	A "Conceited Comaedic"
1595	20/07/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>Locrine</i> / W. S. <sup>91</sup>		X	X	X	The "Lamentable Tragedie"
1598	5/03/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>A Looking Glass for London and England</i> / R. Greene and T. Lodge	Sold by W. Barley	X	X	X	X
1598	18/06/1594	Cuthbert Burby	<i>Mother Bombie</i> / J. Lyly	For C. Burby	X	"the Children of Powles"	"sundrie times plaied"	X
1598	20/10/1597	Andrew Wise	<i>Richard III</i> / W. Shakespeare	For A. Wise	X	"Lord Chamberlaine his	"As it hath been lately	"TRAGEDIE"

<sup>89</sup> William White was responsible for the title page of the two editions of *Pericles*, and Valentine Simmes was responsible for the title pages of the 1604 and 1605 editions of *I The Honest Whore*.

<sup>90</sup> As all plays included in this list are printed by Thomas Creede, this column will only provide information of the booksellers and publishers other than Creede

<sup>91</sup> The title page claims the play as "Newly set forth, overseene and corrected, / By W. S." which later led to its inclusion among Shakespeare's works. However, the play's style is generally considered un-Shakespearean and the authorship has been assigned to several dramatists of this era, such as George Peele and Robert Greene (McKerrow, *Locrine* vi).

						Servants	Acted	
1598	14/05/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>The Famous Victories of Henry V/</i> Anon.		X	"Queenes Maiesties Players"	X	X
1598	14/05/1594	Thomas Creede	<i>The Scottish History of James IV/</i> R. Greene		X	X	"sundrie times publikely plaide"	"Historie ... entermixed with a pleasant Comedie"
1599	X	X	<i>Romeo and Juliet/</i> W. Shakespeare	For C. Burby	X	"Lord Chamberlaine his Servants"	"As it hath bene sundry times publiquesly acted"	"Tragedie"
1599	X	x	<i>Alphonsus, King of Aragon/</i> R. Greene		X	X	"As it hath bene sundrie times Acted"	"COMICALL HISTORIE"
1599	X	X	<i>Clyomon and Clamydes/</i> Anon.		X	"Her Maiesties Players"	"As it hath bene sundry times Acted"	"HISTORIE"
1600	24/07/1600	Richard Olive	<i>The Maid's Metamorphosis/</i> Anon.		X	"the Children of Powles"	"As it hath bene sundrie times Acted"	X
1600	4/08/1600?	No owner of the copy is specified in the Stationers' Register. <sup>92</sup>	<i>Henry V/</i> W. Shakespeare	For T. Millington and J. Busby	X	"Lord Chamberlaine his servants"	"As it hath bene sundry times playd"	"THE CRONICLE History"
1600	7/10/1600	Richard Olive	<i>The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll/</i> Anon.	For R. Olive	X	"the Children of Powles"	"As it hath bene sundrie times Acted"	X
1600	23/10/1600	Richard Olive	<i>The Weakest Goeth to the Wall/</i> Anon.	For R. Olive	X	'the right honourable Earle of Oxenford, Lord great Chamberlaine of England his servants"	"As it hath been sundry times plaide"	X
1601	8/ 09/1600; 23/10/1600 <sup>93</sup>	Felix Norton; R. Olive.	<i>Jack Drum's Entertainment/</i> J. Marston	For R. Olive	X	"the Children of Powles"	"As it hath bene sundry times plaide"	"THE COMEDIE"
1602	20/10/1597	Andrew Wise	<i>Richard III/</i> W. Shakespeare	For A. Wise	X	"Lord Chamberlaine his servants"	"As it hath bene lately Acted . . ."	"THE TRAGEDIE"
1602	14/08/1600	Thomas Pavier	<i>A Looking Glass for London and England/</i> R. Greene and T. Lodge	For T. Pavier	X	X	X	X
1602	14/08/1600 <sup>94</sup>	Thomas Pavier	<i>Henry V/</i> W. Shakespeare	For T. Pavier	X	"the Right honorable the	"As it hath bene sundry	"THE CHRONICLE

<sup>92</sup> Two early entries related to *Henry V* can be found in the Stationers' Register. The first is entered on 4 August which stands between others dated 27-29 May 1600 and 23 June 1603 without reference to the year of entry and the owner of the copy. The second entry is dated 14 August 1600 and indicates a transfer of the right of the copy to Thomas Pavier (*DEEP*).

<sup>93</sup> The first entry is made by Felix Norton. The right is then transferred from Norton to R. Olive on 23 October 1600 (*DEEP*).

<sup>94</sup> See footnote 91.



						Lord Chamberlaine his seruants”	times playd”	History”
1602	16/09/1601	S. Waterson	<i>Il Pastor Fido, or The Faithful Shepherd/</i> G. A. Guarini; trans. J. Dymock	For S. Waterson	X	X	X	X
1602	18/01/1602	Arthur Johnson	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor/</i> W. Shakespeare	For Arthur Johnson	“Both before her Maiestie, and else-where”	“the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines seruants”	“As it hath bene diuers times Acted”	“conceited Comedie”
1602	X	X	<i>How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad/</i> T. Heywood	For M. Law		“Earle of Worcesters Seruants”	“As it hath bene sundry times Acted”	“A PLEASANT conceited Comedie”
1604	9/05/1603	Burby and Millington	<i>The Magnificent Entertainment Given to King James/</i> T. Dekker and T. Heywood	For T. Millington <sup>95</sup>	“(from the Tower) through his Honour-able City of London”	X	“Given to King Iames, Queene Anne his wife and Henry Frederick the Prince. . . upon the day of his Maiesties Trvumphant Passage . . . being the 15. of March. 1603”	X
1604	09/11/1604	Thomas Man	<i>I The Honest Whore/</i> T. Dekker and T. Middleton	Sold by John Hodgets <sup>96</sup>	X	X	X	X
1604	09/11/1604	Thomas Man	<i>I The Honest Whore/</i> T. Dekker and T. Middleton	Sold by John Hodgets	X	X	X	X
1604	X	X	<i>The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses/</i> S. Daniel	For S. Waterson	“ at Hampton Court”	“By the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and her Ladies”	“presented in a Maske the 8 of Ianuary”	“Maske”
1605	25/06/1603	Transfer from Andrew Wise to Matthew Law	<i>Richard III/</i> W. Shakespeare	Sold by M. Law	X	“the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants”	“As it hath bin lately Acted”	“THE TRAGEDIE”
1605	09/11/1604	Thomas Man	<i>I The Honest Whore/</i> T. Dekker and T. Middleton	Sold by John Hodgets	X	X	X	X
1605	No entry	X	<i>The London Prodigal/</i> Anon.	For N. Butter	X	“the Kings Maiesties seruants”	“As it was plaide”	X
1606	No entry	X	<i>Monsieur D’Olive/</i> G. Chapman	For William Holmes <sup>97</sup>	“at the Blacke -	“her Maiesties children”	“as it was sundrie times	“A Comedie”

<sup>95</sup> The book is also by Thomas Creede as well as Hunphrey Lownes, Edward Allde, Simon Stafford and one other (*DEEP*; Yamada 47-9; Weiss 64),

<sup>96</sup> The three editions are printed by Valentine Simmes, Thomas Creede, Simon Stafford and George Eld. The title pages of all three editions only refer to Valentine Simmes as the printer (Weiss 64).

<sup>97</sup> An identified printer, according to Weiss, printed sheets C and D, William White printed sheets E and F, and another identified printer printed sheets G, H and the outer form of sheet B (64).

					Friers		acted"	
1609	20/05/1608	Edward Blount <sup>98</sup>	<i>Pericles/</i> W. Shakespeare	For Henry Gosson <sup>99</sup>	"at the Globe on the Banck-side"	"his Maiesties Seruants"	"THE LATE, And much admired play . . . hath been diuers and sundry times acted"	X
1609	20/05/1608	Edward Blount	<i>Pericles/</i> W. Shakespeare	For Henry Gosson <sup>100</sup>	"at the Globe on the Banck-side"	"his Maiesties Seruants"	"THE LATE, And much admired play . . . hath been diuers and sundry times acted"	X
1611	29/06/1607	Arthur Johnson	<i>Cupid's Whirligig/</i> E. Sharpham	Sold by A. Johnson	X	"the Children of the Kings Maiesties Reuels"	"AS IT HATH bene sundrie times Acted"	X
1612	No entry	X	<i>If it be not good, the Devil is in it/</i> T. Dekker	For I. T.(John Trundle); Sold by Edward Marchant	"at the Red Bull"	"the Queenes Maiesties Seruants"	"AS IT HATH BIN lately Acted, vvith great applause"	"A Nevv Play"
1612	25/06/1603	Transfer from Andrew Wise to Mathew Law	<i>Richard III/</i> W. Shakespeare	Sold by M. Law	X	"the Kings Maiesties seruants"	"As it hath beene lately Acted"	"THE TRAGEDIE"
1612	22/10/1607	A. Johnson	<i>The Merry Devil of Edmonton/</i> anon.	For A. Johnson	"at the Globe on the Bancke side"	"his Majesties Seruants"	"As it hath bene sundry times Acted"	X
1613	17/12/1612	R. Hawkins	<i>Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry/</i> E. Cary	For R. Hawkins	X	X	X	"THE TRAGEDIE"
1615	24/04/1615	Josias Harrison	<i>Cupid's Revenge/</i> J. Fletcher and F. Beaumont	For J. Harrison	X	"the Children of her Maiesties Reuels"	"As it hath beene diuers times Acted"	X
1615	24/04/1615	Josias Harrison	<i>The Hector of Germany/</i> W. Smith (A) <sup>101</sup>	For Josias Harrison	"at the Red-Bull, and at the Curtayne"	"a Company of Young-men of this Citie"	"As it hath beene publicly Acted"	"an Honourable History"
1615	24/04/1615	Josias Harrison	<i>The Hector of Germanie/</i> W. Smith (B) <sup>102</sup>		"at the Red-Bull, and at the Curtayne"	a Company of Young-men of this Citie	"As it hath beene publicly Acted"	"A New Play, an Honourable Hystorie"
1615	4/07/1615	Richard Meighen	<i>Work for Cutlers/</i> Anon.	For R. Meighen and T. Jones	"in the famous Vniuersitie of	X	"Acted in a Shew"	X

<sup>98</sup> *Pericles* was entered by Edward Blount in the Stationers' Register. According Greg, Blount probably never printed the play as "in each of Blount's entries there appears after the sum the letter "R" deleted" – suggesting the cancellation of the entrance (*Preciles* iii). The first and second quartos were printed in 1609 by William White and Thomas Creede for Henry Gosson.

<sup>99</sup> The play was printed by William White and Thomas Creede (*DEEP*; Yamada 47-9)

<sup>100</sup> See footnote 99.

<sup>101</sup> *ESTC* identifies W. Smith to be Wentworth Smith. Chambers acknowledges the possibility of Wentworth Smith's authorship and declines the connection of W. Smith with the William Smith who published sonnets under the title of *Chloris* (3: 493). However, according to David Kathman (*DNB*), "this play was actually written by the herald William Smith [who] had also been supposed to be the W. S. who wrote the 1595 edition of *Lochrine*, the 1602 edition of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, and the 1607 edition of *The Puritan*."

<sup>102</sup> This is the same edition of the play shown in the previous record with a different title page.

					Cambridge"			
1616	29/06/1607	Arthur Johnson	<i>Cupid's Whirligig/</i> E. Sharpham	Sold by A. Johnson	X	The Children of his Maiesties Reuels	"AS IT HATH BENE SVNDRIE times Acted"	X

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by dramatists, then title used throughout

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*THE Lamentable and true Tragedie of M. Arden of Feuersham in Kent. Who was most wickedly murdered, by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wife, who for the loue she bare to one Mosbie, hyred two desperate ruffins Blackwill and Shakbag to kill him. Wherein is shewed the great malice and dissimulation of a wicked woman: the vnsatiable desire of filthy lust, and the shamefull end of all murtherers.* London: I. Robert for Edward White, 1599. STC 734.

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*The historie of the tvvo valiant knights, Syr Clyomon Knight of the Golden Sheeld, sonne to the King of Denmarke: and Clamydes the white Knight, sonne to the King of Suauia. As it hath bene sundry times acted by her Maiesties Players.* London: Thomas Creede, 1599. STC 5450a

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*The true tragedie of Richard the third: wherein is showne the death of Edward the fourth, with the smothering of the two yoong princes in the Tower: with a lamentable ende of Shores wife, an example for all wicked women. And lastly, the coniunction and ioyning of the two noble houses, Lancaster and Yorke.* London: Thomas Creede for William Barley, 1594. STC21009.

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